

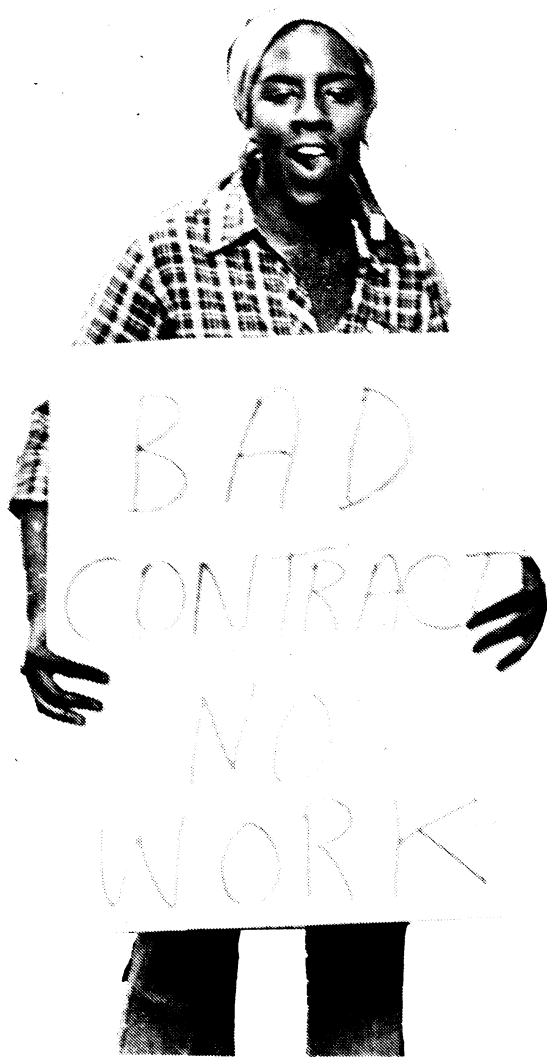
SEPTEMBER 8, 1978

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VOLUME 42/NUMBER 33

# THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



Militant/Rich Robohm

## Postal workers stand firm

Reject Carter's plan to hold back wages as prices soar

—PAGE 5

## Black socialist victimized in Miami

A Black Miami socialist joins an antiracist protest in the Haitian community. He's run down by a cop. Instead of taking him for treatment, the police book him as 'disorderly.' He and his party, the Socialist Workers Party, vow to fight the frame-up. Harassment begins. Political documents are stolen from his home. Cop cars patrol in front of his house and the SWP offices. See page 3.

## REBELLION SHAKES NICARAGUA REGIME

—PAGE 6



## Postal workers

Ninety thousand troops standing by. Threatened firings. Court orders, possible fines and jail sentences.

All have been thrown in the faces of this nation's 600,000 postal workers.

Solely because they had the gall to tell Carter, "We don't like your contract offer. Give us something better."

Carter has aimed this arsenal at postal workers because the stakes are high. This is the first national contract dispute since the coal miners turned down two offers last winter, ignored Taft-Hartley, and shook up American labor. And the first direct challenge to Carter's attempt to limit wage hikes to 5.5 percent—in the face of an official inflation rate of more than 10 percent.

Another nationwide strike led by union ranks in defiance of "the law" would be disastrous from Carter's point of view.

Consider its impact on Teamsters, auto workers, rail workers—all of whom have contracts soon to expire.

What would become of the phony government war on inflation?

If the stakes are high for Carter, they're even higher for working people.

If the government succeeds in scuttling the postal workers' demands for a living wage, employers everywhere will be egged on. Workers everywhere will pay.

But if the postal workers stand up and win—with the backing of the entire labor movement—all working people will gain.

Postal workers have the right to vote on their contracts—that has made their battle possible thus far. But if they don't like what they're offered, the laws say, they can't strike to force a better deal.

Postal workers say nuts to that. If the current talks don't come up with something better, they have pledged to strike.

Make no mistake. Government officials will use this borrowed time at the bargaining table to strengthen their hand.

They will try to turn the public against postal workers. They will step up their intimidation campaign. Scores of postal workers remain fired from the July wildcat strikes as a warning to others.

Supporters of the postal workers' right to a decent contract should be using this time also. The cause of the postal workers should be

taken to the labor movement, to the Black movement, to the women's movement, and to the public at large.

Whatever action postal workers decide to take, they need to know they have working people behind them.

Support the postal workers!

## Trial balloons

The August 30 *Washington Post* reports that President Carter "will carry proposals to the Camp David summit on the Middle East that include establishing an American air base in the Sinai peninsula and posting U.S. troops on the West Bank" of the Jordan River.

Carter says he is "reluctant" to do this, but troops may be needed to advance the cause of peace. But this is a cynical lie. If Washington really wanted peace in the Middle East, it would simply cut off the \$2 billion it spends every year to finance the Israeli garrison state. The real purpose of U.S. troops in the Mideast is to intimidate the Palestinian struggle for self-determination and that of other Arab peoples fighting for liberation.

Carter's offer is the latest in a series of threats to send U.S. troops abroad. It follows:

- the president's mobilization of the Eighty-second Airborne Division last May—after Katangan rebels invaded Shaba province in Zaïre;

- reports leaked this summer of joint U.S.-British plans for a possible military "airlift" in Zimbabwe;

- Sen. George McGovern's August 21 call (see story, page 12) for a United Nations invasion to topple the government of Kampuchea (Cambodia); and

- continued sabre rattling against Cuba because of its aid to freedom struggles in Africa.

Carter knows the American people are still bitter about the Vietnam War and are overwhelmingly opposed to more dirty overseas U.S. military adventures of this kind. His war threats are trial balloons—probes to test public opinion and to break down if possible the deep antiwar sentiment in this country.

Such sentiment is an alarming problem for Carter and the corporate exploiters he serves. It ties their hands at a time when liberation struggles are rising in Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

Added to these woes of the ruling rich are

both the deep-going opposition among Blacks in this country to U.S. backing for racist regimes in southern Africa and the growth of the movement against nuclear power, nuclear weapons, and the arms race.

An important opportunity to discuss the next steps in building this movement will take place September 15-17 when the Mobilization for Survival holds its second annual conference in Des Moines, Iowa.

The *Militant* urges all our readers to attend. Building a mass movement for peace and against nuclear power and weapons is the best way to bring down Carter's trial war balloons.

## Hands off Nicaragua

Hated Nicaraguan dictator Anastasio Somoza says he is coming to Washington to "personally" seek President Carter's aid in shoring up his tottering regime (see article, page 6).

Somoza expects a sympathetic ear for his troubles. After all, U.S. Marines installed his family in power at bayonet point some forty years ago—and Washington has been more than generous with economic and military support ever since.

As recently as May, the Carter administration overrode its own human rights aid cutoff rules and freed \$12 million in aid to Nicaragua.

Carter wants to prevent the Nicaraguan upsurge from spilling over into the rest of Central America, a traditional stronghold of U.S. imperialist investment.

The president also aims to safeguard the \$87 million that Exxon, U.S. Steel, United Brands, and other corporations have invested in Nicaragua itself. The sweeping rebellion of the Nicaraguan people against Somoza poses a deep threat to these investments.

The U.S. government's bloody record in Latin America—from Cuba to Santo Domingo to Guatemala—shows it will stop at nothing to preserve profits.

American workers should be on the alert to defend our Nicaraguan brothers and sisters:

*End all U.S. aid to Somoza!*

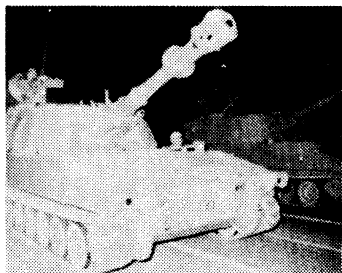
*U.S. hands off Nicaragua!*

**NOTE TO SUBSCRIBERS:** In the event of a postal strike, you can pick up your copy of the *'Militant'* at the Socialist Workers Party bookstore nearest you (see page 27).

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**Murder and frame-up in Iran**  
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**Teachers meet**  
In face of mounting attacks on teachers, American Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker offers no way out. **Page 8.**



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# Defend Leo Harris!

## Victim's home burglarized; cops harass SWP

By Lee Smith

MIAMI—Since Roy (Leo) Harris was assaulted and arrested for taking part in an antiracist demonstration August 8, Miami cops have been carrying out an escalating campaign of harassment both against Harris and the Miami branch of the Socialist Workers Party, to which Harris belongs.

On August 21, Harris's home was burglarized. Political and personal correspondence and documents were stolen.

The break-in and stepped-up police harassment here bear striking similarity to the national pattern of FBI burglaries, police surveillance, and spying that the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance have exposed through their landmark lawsuit against the government.

Harris is a longtime Black rights activist and an electrical apprentice. On August 8 he took part in a demonstration of 500 people, mostly Haitian, outside a Winn-Dixie store. The protest was provoked by racist remarks—published in two local papers—that were made by the store's manager and security guard.

At the demonstration, a cop drove a car into Harris, injuring him. Claiming they were taking him to the hospital, cops instead drove him to the police station and charged him with disorderly conduct and criminal mischief.

He is scheduled to be arraigned on these charges September 28. If convicted, Harris could be in prison for up to two years.

On August 21, Harris left his house about 11:15 a.m. with Jack Lieberman, secretary of the Leo Harris Defense Committee, to be interviewed by *Liberty News*, a Black community newspaper. Sherry Harris and the two Harris children were also out.

At noon, a neighbor saw a white man driving a green Dodge van park



Leo Harris, (center) speaks at recent Haitian refugee demonstration in Miami

in front of the Harris house and walk around to the rear. A short time later, she saw the man get back into the van and drive away.

When Sherry Harris returned home about 2 p.m. she saw the screen from the rear bedroom window lying on the ground. A fan that had been in the window was lying on the bed.

When Harris returned home later that evening, he discovered a portfolio was missing containing seventy to eighty letters of a personal and political nature.

A stereo and other valuables in the same room were untouched except for thirty dollars that had been lying loose on a dresser top and was missing.

Among the items stolen were documents relating to a civil rights suit against the cops that Harris filed in response to an earlier police frame-up. The charges against him in that case were ultimately dropped.

The harassment against Harris has continued.

Every night since his arrest, he and Sherry Harris have seen cop cars passing and stopping or parking in front of their house.

Cop cars have also been circling the SWP headquarters and Militant Bookstore here. On August 28 a car with two cops parked out in front. Rose Ogden, SWP organizer, went outside to ask the cops what they wanted. Smirking, they replied, "We're up just patrolling the neighborhood."

On several occasions cops have parked near the entrance of Harris's workplace when he arrives at his job.

On August 15, during an SWP meeting, three tires on Jack Lieberman's car were punctured while it was parked directly in front of the hall. The garage attendant who repaired the tires noted that they had been pierced by a narrow, needle-like tool and remarked, "This looks like a real professional job."

On July 26, before Harris's latest arrest, the SWP hall was defaced with

## Rally for Harris

MIAMI—A rally in defense of Leo Harris will be held Thursday, September 7, at 7:30 p.m., in Community Room 1164 of the New World (downtown) campus of Miami Dade Community College.

The Leo Harris Defense Committee, sponsor of the meeting, has also urged that messages be sent demanding that the charges against Leo Harris be dropped. They should be directed to Dade County State Attorney Janet Reno, 1351 NW Twelfth Street, Miami, Florida 33135.

Copies should be sent to the Leo Harris Defense Committee, 7623 NE Second Avenue, Miami, Florida 33138.

Funds are also urgently needed.

swastikas and other racist graffiti.

Harris was visited by Miami police detective Sergeant Anderson on August 24. Anderson claimed to be investigating for a police "internal review" of the Winn-Dixie "incident."

Anderson attempted to get Harris to say that the cop may have driven into him by accident and suggested that perhaps someone may have pushed Harris into the path of the car.

As he was leaving, Anderson attempted to belittle the charges against Harris, saying they were "not serious."

But the Leo Harris Defense Committee, the Socialist Workers Party, and the Young Socialist Alliance consider this case very serious. They intend to mobilize the broadest possible protest—both nationally and locally—to force the Miami cops to end their campaign of harassment and drop the charges against Leo Harris.

## Gov't launches wave of arrests in Brazil

By Fred Murphy

The U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA) has made an appeal on behalf of twenty-seven persons arrested by the Brazilian political police in July and August.

The most recent and largest wave of arrests came August 22. According to a report in the August 25 edition of the Rio de Janeiro daily *O Globo*, twenty-two persons were arrested in São Paulo, held incommunicado for forty-eight hours, and then turned over to a military court.

The twenty-two have been charged with violating Article 14 of the Brazilian dictatorship's draconian National Security Law. According to *O Globo*, they are suspected of "involvement with the Liga Operária [Workers

League], an organization of Trotskyist tendency linked to the Communist Fourth International."

But according to Alberto Goldman, a member of Brazil's Legislative Assembly who has protested the arrests, the accused "are members of the Socialist Convergence, which is in the process of formation."

Socialist Convergence is a legal organization that has been functioning publicly in Brazil since its founding meeting in January of this year. On March 19, Socialist Convergence held a public rally in São Paulo that drew about 1,000 persons.

The group also helps produce a supplement to the legal monthly newspaper *Versus*. The August issue of this supplement, called *Convergência Socialista*, reports on another case of vic-

timization of Socialist Convergence activists that is also being protested by USLA.

"Between July 18 and 20 our *companheiros* Mário Gonçalves, Beliza Maria Gonçalves, Vera Lúcia, Alcides Bartolomeu de Faria, and Flávio Lúcio de Faria were arrested in Brasília," the paper says. The five were tortured and "have been held incommunicado up to the present time."

The persons arrested on August 22 include the following: Waldo Mermelstein, Aldo Schreiner, Maria José da Silva Lourenço, Bernardo Viana Marques Cerdeira, Oscar Itiro Kudo, Maria Marta Dangelo Cretton, Justino Lemos Pinheiro, José Aziz Cretton, Maria Gerbi Veiga, Hilda Machado, Maria Cristina Salay, João Carlos Agostini, José Maria de Almeida, José

Welmowick, Edson Silva Coelho, Célia Regina Barbosa Ramos, Ana Maria de Moura Nogueira, and Maria José Costa Girardi.

Also arrested by the political police were a Portuguese citizen, Antônio Maria Sá Leal; an American, Esther Tenzer; and two Argentines, Hugo Miguel Bressano and Rita Luzia Estrasberg.

USLA urges that letters and telegrams protesting the July and August arrests be sent to President Ernesto Geisel, Palácio Presidencial, Brasília, Brazil. Please send copies to USLA, 853 Broadway, New York, New York 10003, and to the editors of the following newspapers: *O Estado de São Paulo*, São Paulo, Brazil; and *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

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# NOW conference to discuss fight for ERA

By Willie Mae Reid

The July 9 National March for the Equal Rights Amendment inspired confidence throughout the women's movement—along with a discussion of what to do next to show that the ERA drive will not go away.

The place to take that confidence and discussion is the national NOW conference, scheduled for October 6-9 in Washington, D.C. Women from around the country will discuss various women's issues and, in particular, the drive to win the ERA.

Especially after the July 9 march, ERA supporters are looking to NOW to take the next step in this drive. As *Majority Report*, a feminist newspaper published in New York, observed, July 9 "means that NOW has acquired a sense of its power as an independent force. Half the marchers were lined up behind NOW chapter banners. No government agency or White House 'task force' can compete with real constituents, and NOW has them."

The main topic to discuss at the conference, of course, is how to continue the momentum of July 9 to force the Senate to extend the deadline for ratifying the ERA and to win ratification in three more states.

*What She Wants*, a Cleveland feminist newspaper, had this suggestion in the wake of July 9:

"The leadership of the women's movement should take a lesson from this victory. It is clear that the July 9 demonstration convinced the Judiciary Committee to move. If there is a filibuster in the Senate, or if states are reluctant to ratify, we should know what to do! How do you think they'd like it in Springfield, Illinois if 100,000 women visited?"

A similar idea was discussed and approved at an August meeting of the New Jersey NOW State Council, according to Chris Hildebrand. Hildebrand is a member of the state ERA task force and is an alternate delegate to the national conference from Essex County NOW. She is also a member of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers Local 827.

The state council passed a resolution urging national NOW to build on the momentum of July 9 by calling another massive ERA action before the March 22, 1979, deadline for ERA ratification.

"We left open the question of where an action would be and when, because we aren't sure where the ERA will stand by the time of the national NOW conference," Hildebrand explained. "What we need is another huge outpouring of ERA support. Whether it's another mass march on Washington to push extension through the Senate, or coordinated demonstrations in two or

three of the unratified states, can be decided at the conference."

A similar resolution urging the national NOW conference to call a big ERA action by next spring was passed by the Tacoma NOW chapter at its August meeting.

NOW members who initiated the resolution in New Jersey, Hildebrand explained, did so "to get the discussion rolling, to put the question on the agenda at the national conference, to start the process going."

"I think a lot of congressional representatives and senators are thinking that we 'did our thing' on July 9 and that now we'll all go back to our individual forms of lobbying and writing letters and other low-profile protesting," said Hildebrand.

"I think it's extremely important that we begin planning another massive action now, to let them know that

we have not filed away July 9 as just a great moment in history. To let them know we are not only going to repeat it but surpass it. Just like Eleanor Smeal, NOW's national president, said at the July 9 rally, we'll be having 'bigger and bigger demonstrations' till the ERA is won.

"That's the kind of pressure we've got to have. It's been proven the only thing effective in getting elected officials to move."

Hildebrand pointed out that the next ERA action could be even more successful than July 9. "Hundreds of thousands, even millions, of people who did not attend July 9 heard about it and were educated about the real danger the ERA is in. Those people will want to do something now. And I think that the doors we began opening to the labor movement and the civil rights movement through July 9 will not be closed. Those doors will be opened even wider if we begin now to plan another action for the ERA."

In fact, just since July 9, resolutions urging active support for the ERA have been passed at the national conventions of the American Postal Workers Union, the International Typographical Union, and the American Federation of Government Employees.

In addition, Hildebrand pointed out, campuses will be open now. "The campuses are a gigantic community of potential ERA supporters that we were able to tap in only the most minimum way through summer schools for July 9. The added participation of students, that factor alone, can guarantee that the next ERA action will be a big success."

For more information on the National NOW Conference on Issues, write to the National NOW Conference, c/o NOW Action Center, 425 Thirteenth Street NW, Suite 1048, Washington, D.C. 20004.



Another big action for the ERA like July 9 will involve still more people and keep up the pressure to extend the deadline for ratification.

## Nat'l walk-a-thons continue ERA momentum

By Kipp Dawson

PITTSBURGH, Pa.—"Through July 9, we have done what we said we would do—that is, to communicate to our leaders the deep concern about the Equal Rights Amendment and the support for it," declared Eleanor Smeal, president of the National Organization for Women, at an August 26 rally here.

The rally launched the NOW walk-a-thon, one of the many fund-raising events held around the country to continue the momentum of July 9 for the ERA drive.

"Before July 9, people said that there was no way to get the extension bill out of committee," Smeal reminded the crowd. "Then 100,000 people marched on Washington, and the ERA extension hit the floor of the house."

"Before August 15, people said there was no way of getting the extension passed without amendments. But, as we know, on August 15 all amendments were defeated, and the extension was passed by the House."

Now the job before women, Smeal said, is to make sure that extension passes the hurdles in the Senate.

About 100 people took part in the eleven-mile walk-a-thon, organized by twenty-four NOW chapters in the Pittsburgh area. Among those participating were Marsha Zakowski of the United Steelworkers of America (USWA) Civil Rights Department; members of about a half-dozen USWA locals; two members of the Teamsters union; Elma Fox, a local leader of the NAACP; and

Mark Zola, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania.

The Newark *Star-Ledger* estimated that 800 ERA supporters took part in NOW walk-a-thons throughout New Jersey. According to the *Star-Ledger*:

"Marilyn DelDuca, co-chairwoman of the NOW New Jersey ERA committee, said the July march on Washington by 100,000 ERA supporters inspired residents to turn out yesterday to demonstrate continued support for the amendment and an extension of the ratification deadline of March 22, 1979."

## Seattle: women's rights now!

By Dale Bretches

SEATTLE—More than 700 supporters of women's rights marked the anniversary of women's suffrage on August 26.

The march demanded an extension of the deadline for ratifying the Equal Rights Amendment; for affirmative action and against the *Bakke* decision; for abortion rights and against forced sterilization; and for defeat of Proposition 13, an antigay initiative that will be on the ballot this fall.

The message repeated over and over again in chants was:

"What do we want? Women's rights!"

"When do we want them? Now!" Barb Hennigan, who chaired the rally, pointed to the recent July 9 demonstration of 100,000 in Washington, D.C., as a model of how to defend women's rights.

She also pointed to the effects of the *Bakke* ruling on affirmative action. The school administrators and bosses who have denied women and oppressed minorities equal treatment cannot be trusted to do so now without quotas, she said.

Patricia Benevidas, national legislative coordinator for the National Organization for Women, described

the plight of Chicanas. She urged extension of the deadline to ratify the ERA.

Pat Bethard, an executive board member of the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees Local 1488, described the potential power that labor can contribute to defense of women's rights and the building of the women's movement. She pointed to the labor support given the July 9 demonstration as an example.

Dejah Sherman Peterson from the Washington chapter of the National Abortion Rights Action League, Delores Sibonga of the Asian-Pacific Women's Caucus, and Yolanda Alaniz of Mujer also spoke.

Judith Tilman, representing Women Against 13, was especially well received. Proposition 13 would repeal Seattle's gay rights law that protects lesbians and gay men from job discrimination.

The march and rally had been endorsed by more than forty-five organizations.

The following day, the Seattle chapter of NOW raised more than \$3,000 in its walk-a-thon. More than 100 supporters of the ERA attended the NOW rally, and nearly 50 participated in the walk-a-thon.

An important review in the May 15 *Library Journal* had this to say about

Evelyn Reed's

## Sexism and Science



"In this collection of essays, Reed attempts to show how pseudoscientific postulations and sexist prejudices have obscured the truths and distorted the facts discovered in certain sciences: namely, anthropology, biology, primatology, sociobiology, and sociology. Although not disparaging what she considers genuine discoveries, she makes a valiant slashing effort to reduce some 'reactionary' giants (Robert Ardrey, Claude Lévi-Strauss, Lionel Tiger) to windmills."

"Reed has a certain flair with terminology and a fresh iconoclastic lack of academic decorum. She is knowledgeable in the disciplines under discussion. Overall the book is a stimulating corrective to establishment academic doctrine and popular scientific vagaries. Recommended for scientific, women's, as well as nonspecialist collections."—Mary Mallory, Tozzer Library, Harvard University.

**Sexism and Science**, 190 pages, paper \$3.45. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West St., New York, N.Y. 10014. Please include \$.25 with payment for postage and handling.



## Ranks turn down Carter's 'peanuts'

# Gov't resumes postal talks to head off strike

By Nancy Cole

With angry postal workers breathing down the government's neck, the U.S. Postal Service agreed to reopen contract talks August 28, thus averting a nationwide strike for the time being.

Hours before 180,000 letter carriers were scheduled to walk off the job, federal mediator Wayne Horvitz announced an agreement had been reached.

The unions and postal service will return to negotiations around only two contract issues: wages and the no-lay-off clause.

If agreement on these is reached within fifteen days, the revised contract will go back to the ranks for another vote.

If no agreement is reached, an "impartial" arbitrator will make a *final, binding* decision, freezing postal workers out of any say on their contract.

U.S. Postmaster General William Bolger—who hours before had pledged never to return to negotiations—said he was "satisfied" with the new agreement.

Top postal union officials, reported the *Wall Street Journal*, expressed "surprise and delight" with the plan.

AFL-CIO chief George Meany declared the set-up "in the true tradition of collective bargaining and trade unionism."

Carter and other government officials breathed a sigh of relief.

It was another stall—one of many used intermittently with threats in the high-powered drive to stick postal workers with a rotten contract.

Postal workers stayed on the job. But whether such a gambit will be successful in the longer run remains to be seen.

### Carter's plan

It all came to a head back in July. Carter had high hopes that the proposed settlement would find immediate, meek acceptance by postal unions.

From there, the contract—both its terms and the character of its ratification—could be used to help erase the memory of the fighting, striking coal miners and their 30 percent-plus wage increase.

The miners were the exception, ad-



Delegates demonstrate at American Postal Workers Union convention last month. Carter is still hoping to stick them with one of his 'inflation fighting' contracts.

ministration officials were busy explaining, the postal workers would be the rule.

Phase one begins as planned. As the postal contract is about to expire, an eleventh-hour agreement is reached by officials of the three postal unions—the American Postal Workers Union, National Association of Letter Carriers, and Mail Handlers division of the Laborers' International.

Postal workers are offered only a 10 percent pay raise over three years, a cost-of-living clause capped at \$1,500, and no improvements in working conditions. The pact is sweetened with continuation of the no-layoffs clause.

Phase two flops. Even though postal union officials keep the contract under wraps, its terms leak out to the ranks. They react with fury. Wildcat walkouts erupt in Jersey City and in Richmond, California.

Contingency plan A is in order. Scores of the strikers are fired. A federal judge in New Jersey enjoins picketing. And cops are sent to enforce the order.

A snag appears. Under pressure,

officials from the New York Metro Area APWU meet and set a strike vote for a few days off. Postal workers around the country look to New York anxiously.

The judge steps in again. If postal strikes are illegal, he reasons, then strike *votes* are illegal, especially when they are likely to approve strike action.

The government scores. New York union officials back down and call off the vote and the strike.

Yet another flaw in Carter's scheme surfaces. National conventions of the APWU and NALC are scheduled as postal workers prepare to vote by mail ballot on the contract.

### Conventions vote rejection

In Chicago, the NALC delegates demand that the convention take a stand on the contract. It is overwhelmingly rejected. NALC President J. Joseph Vacca continues to insist the ranks will approve the contract.

A couple of weeks later in Denver, APWU delegates demonstrate for an hour on the convention floor against the contract and against union Presi-

dent Emmet Andrews. They too vote to reject the contract and mandate a national strike if the membership votes it down and the government won't resume talks.

Then the ranks have their say. The ballots are tallied and all three unions reject the agreement. The postal law requires that binding arbitration now settle the dispute.

But the NALC constitution and the APWU convention have said that if there are no more talks, the next step is to strike.

Postmaster General Bolger threatens to fire any and all strikers. He says he will resort to operation "Graphic Hand" and ask Carter for up to 90,000 troops to "sort mail" in the event of a strike.

To turn the public against postal workers, he raises the specter of higher postal rates if wages are raised, and no delivery of needed social security checks if there is a strike.

A federal judge issues a temporary order against a strike—and against any slowdowns or picketing of any kind. Union officials are faced with fines and jail.

But it all falls flat. Postal workers prepare to walk out unless talks resume.

Talks resume.

### 'Thinly veiled effort'

That's where things stand. But there is little reason to think that the U.S. Postal Service is now going to concede a decent contract—or that top union officials are going to change their tune and decide to fight for it.

"Yesterday's agreement to resume talks under Mr. Horvitz's formula," reported the *Wall Street Journal*, "was seen by some as a thinly veiled effort to free two union presidents from a conflict between the law and their union obligations."

Most reports color the return to talks as a "face-saving" measure for both the government and union officials.

What can make the difference is the ranks of the postal unions. They are no more resigned now to an inadequate contract than they were when they demonstrated in Washington, D.C., in July with signs that read:

"Jimmy—We Don't Like Your Peanuts."

## Mobilization for Survival to meet

By Arnold Weissberg

The Mobilization for Survival, a national umbrella organization opposed to both nuclear weapons and nuclear power, will hold its second national conference September 15-17 in Des Moines, Iowa. The conference will be open to all.

According to MfS spokesperson Bob Moore, the conference will discuss "where we've been" and will lay out a strategy and structure for the next several years.

MfS played the key role in organizing the May 27 demonstration for disarmament at the United Nations, in which some 20,000 people participated. MfS affiliates and individual members have also taken part in the many anti-nuclear power actions this past spring and summer.

On future actions, Moore said he would be favorably inclined to MfS participation in national antinuke protests scheduled for November 11-18 to commemorate the death of Karen Silkwood. Moore noted that the dates might be formally incorporated into

the schedule of the Mobilization's activities.

Also set for discussion at the conference is a proposal for a national action in Washington, D.C., in the fall of 1979. Moore said the action would focus on "the nuclear issue"—both nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

At the August 16-20 No-Nukes Strategies Conference in Louisville, several similar proposals were raised and discussed.

Guy Chichester, a founder of the Clamshell Alliance, proposed a mass direct action in Washington in the spring of 1979. A proposal from the Palmetto Alliance in South Carolina called for regional actions in 1979 and a march on Washington in the spring of 1980.

The Des Moines conference will give disarmament activists and antinuke activists another opportunity to discuss these proposals and the possibility of a joint national action.

Also up for discussion, Moore said, will be the Mobilization's short-term goals. While the organization's objectives remain "zero nuclear weapons,"

"ban nuclear power," and "stop the arms race," Moore said proposals will be made for the Mobilization to make an "interim" demand for a moratorium on production of nuclear weapons, a halt to nuclear power plant construction, and a major cut in the military budget.

Discussion of these proposals will be of importance to the whole antinuclear movement. At their heart is the question of what program will best move into action the millions of Americans who oppose nuclear weapons and nuclear power.

Included in the conference schedule is a Saturday night rally. Moore said that two speakers are already confirmed: Dick Greenwood of the International Association of Machinists, and Winona LaDuke Westgard, a Native American, who will speak on uranium mining.

The conference will be held at Washington Irving School, Sixteenth and Forest streets in Des Moines. For more information, contact MfS at 1213 Race Street, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19107, or call (215) 563-1512.

## New York ballot drive

By Rich Robohm

NEW YORK—"We made it!"

After only eleven days of petitioning, members of the Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, and other supporters of the Socialist Workers Campaign in New York State were already celebrating victory.

From August 16-26 they collected almost 47,000 signatures on nominating petitions for five New York SWP candidates.

Gubernatorial candidate Dianne Feeley observed that people "responded enthusiastically" to the Socialist Workers Party Campaign effort.

Top petitioning honors went to Eric Perkins, a member of the New York YSA and the Chelsea branch of the SWP. Perkins alone got over 1,800 signatures.

# Rebellion in Nicaragua

By Peter Seidman

Massive support for a general strike that began August 25 has brought the U.S. government-backed Nicaraguan dictatorship of President Anastasio Somoza to the greatest crisis in more than forty years of Somoza family rule.

The strike was called by the Frente Amplio de Oposición [FAO—Broad Opposition Front, a coalition of prominent businessmen, attorneys, religious and academic figures, as well as most of the country's trade unions and political parties. The FAO also maintains links with the dominant faction of the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)].

The strike came on the heels of a dramatic August 22 FSLN guerrilla raid on the National Palace in the Nicaraguan capital city of Managua. That raid was also turned into a demonstration of widespread opposition to Somoza by the masses.

Within four days the strike was 80 percent effective in Managua, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported August 30.

"Soldiers riding in jeeps and trucks patrolled the city under orders to arrest workers who the government said were trying to force their employers to close," according to the August 30 *Washington Post*.

"Nevertheless," the *Washington Post* account continued, "many areas outside the city appeared to be in a virtual state of war between youth and worker-led vigilantes and the National Guard. In Matagalpa, a city of 60,000 in central Nicaragua which is considered an anti-Somoza stronghold, large barricades blocked all entrance roads.

"With all stores closed, the streets empty and filled with broken glass, and many people locked inside their homes, Matagalpa was a battleground Monday [August 28] between youths armed with revolvers, sticks and home-made bombs and the soldiers. The city appeared divided into zones held by the guard and those under control of the youth, who appeared to be acting with the support of the townspeople in their area."

Somoza has even dispatched air force planes to bomb insurgent neighborhoods in Matagalpa, according to

radio news broadcasts in New York City.

The crisis of the Somoza regime has been aggravated by divisions within the 7,500-member National Guard itself. This U.S.-supported force—which functions as Somoza's private army—has long been the mainstay of the dictatorship.

But even as these troops were patrolling strike-torn Managua on August 28, the Associated Press reported that "a revolt had been openly discussed in broadcasts over national guard radio frequencies."

That day officials announced that the government had "thwarted" a coup attempt, "a conspiracy of the army and civilians" to overthrow Somoza.

Some 300 people—including 7 colonels, numerous other military personnel, and key civilian opposition figures—were arrested within forty-eight hours.

This deepening crisis for the regime was foreshadowed by the masses' response to the August 22 guerrilla raid on the National Palace.

After a brief shootout with National Guard troops, about twenty (FSLN) commandos succeeded in taking over the palace.

They captured the minister of the interior, his deputy, and between forty and sixty members of the Chamber of Deputies. Fifteen journalists and more than 1,000 government employees and other persons were also caught up in the raid.

The regime made no attempt to dislodge the guerrillas but instead opened negotiations with them. Late in the evening of August 23, Somoza agreed to allow three FSLN communiqués to be read over the radio; to pay a \$500,000 ransom; to free fifty-eight political prisoners; and to provide safe passage out of the country for the political prisoners and the commandos.

A dispatch from Managua in the August 25 *Washington Post* described what happened the next day:

"Thousands lined the route to the airport cheering the guerrillas as they drove past. The crowds chanted 'Down with Somoza!' and 'Somoza to the gallows!'"

"When the two planes carrying guer-



Nicaraguans cheer guerrillas whose action coincided with rising mass opposition to Somoza dictatorship.

rillas and hostages took off, jubilant Nicaraguans broke through security lines . . . and cheered."

Another airport scene was described in the September 4 issue of *Newsweek*: "Amid the chaos, a young woman wearing a checkered skirt leapt onto a shop counter and delivered an impromptu tirade. 'Only a people organized and armed can crush the dictatorship,' she shouted to loud applause."

Clearly, the subsequent general strike showed that the Nicaraguan people were prepared to contribute far more to that struggle than just standing on the sidelines and cheering the Sandinista guerrillas.

This momentum is a serious concern to leaders of the FAO. Their perspective is to oust Somoza without jeopardizing capitalist property relations in Nicaragua. As Conservative Party leader Edwardo Chamorro Coronel, a cousin of President Somoza, put it, "I am ready to fight communism, but through a true democratic process."

Nonetheless, "The move to oust Somoza has gained momentum among workers and in the countryside," the *Washington Post* reported August 30, "and many opposition leaders feel that as the crisis continues the population is rapidly becoming more radical and

less willing to listen to calls for non-violence."

Somoza seems to be hoping that in the face of this threat, his procapitalist opponents will opt to pull back, preferring the president and his National Guard to the danger of revolution.

He is also taking steps to ensure that his longtime backers in Washington will continue their support as well. Somoza announced that he would go to the United States to personally seek aid (see editorial, page 2).

There is little doubt that the dictator will receive at least a sympathetic hearing from the Carter administration. "There is concern in Washington," *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent James Nelson Goodsell explained August 29, "that events in Nicaragua so far this year not only could lead to a civil war within the country but also could have a spillover effect into other Central American countries."

At the same time, however, Washington is no doubt also giving thoughtful and concerned consideration to who else might be relied on to protect U.S. corporate interests in Nicaragua—if Somoza and his gang of cut-throats prove unable to ride out the current revolt.

## Calif. market strikers mourn slain picket

By Jack Conley

OAKLAND, Calif.—Striking supermarket Teamsters, their families, and other unionists gathered for an August 27 memorial to protest the murder of striker Randy Hill by a scab.

Some 800 people participated in the memorial, held in Vallejo under the auspices of Teamsters Joint Council 7, to which the striking locals are affiliated.

Hill, twenty-four, was killed the night of August 21 by a speeding, scab-driven car with its lights off. The killing occurred at a distribution center for Lucky's, one of the struck chains.

Meanwhile, strikers are holding fast in their battle against four major northern California supermarket chains.

The walkout began July 18 at the Safeway chain and was followed by lockouts at Lucky's, Ralph's, and Alpha Beta.

Principal issues include intolerable speedup, wage parity in the industry, grievance procedures, and, now, company violence in the strike.

On August 23, secretary-treasurers of the eight striking Teamster locals unanimously rejected a settlement offer.

The rejected agreement called for arbitration of disputed issues by an

"impartial third party" and amnesty for strikers.

This so-called settlement was agreed to by William Grami, director of the Western Conference of Teamsters, and representatives of the Food Employers Council, which includes the struck chains.

Grami has taken a dim view of the

strike from the outset.

The shutdown involves 3,500 members of eight locals affiliated with the joint council, which has a total membership of about 40,000 in the Bay Area.

The four chains have tried to break the strike by drivers and warehouse workers with scabs and well-paid

armed guards, who have made bloody attacks on the striking workers.

After the proposed settlement was rejected, Teamsters Joint Council 7 called a meeting of San Francisco Bay Area union officials to rally support for the strike.

At a press conference following this meeting, numerous top Bay Area union officials joined in expressing their outrage at the murder of Randy Hill and the violence inflicted on other strikers.

Meanwhile, on August 25, some 55,000 members of the Retail Clerks union in southern California ended their five-day walkout against a major food chain under an agreement that provided for a return to work pending ratification of a new contract.

In northern California, several thousand clerks, butchers, and other unionized workers continue to honor Teamster picket lines at the retail stores of the struck chains.

SAN FRANCISCO—Fred Halstead, Socialist Workers Party nominee for governor, branded the union-busting drive of the Lucky market chain as directly responsible for the killing of striker Randy Hill. He said it was a blow to the entire labor movement and urged "an outpouring of support for the strikers."



Memorial rally for murdered striker

Militant/Joe Ryan



# Activists set antiapartheid conferences

By Omari Musa

Opponents of U.S. support to the white minority regime in South Africa are stepping up their activity.

At its recent steering committee meeting, the North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa (NECLSA) approved plans for a regional conference November 17-19 at New York University. The gathering will take up campus struggles against university investments in South Africa, and other antiapartheid activities.

NECLSA is hosting another steering committee meeting September 30 at Yale University to finalize plans for the conference.

There will be other conferences leading up to the NECLSA meeting this fall.

In Evanston, Illinois, the Divestiture Working Group has called a "Midwest Conference on University Investment in South Africa." The conference is slated for October 20-22 at Northwestern University.

Dennis Brutus, an exiled South African poet and member of the Working Group explained their plans: "We have sent out invitations and a suggested agenda and estimate at least fifty organizations plus interested individuals will attend."

Brutus said the purpose of the gathering was to begin working out a coordinated plan of action against university complicity and U.S. corporations doing business in South Africa.

He also noted that several conferences were taking place this fall, among them the NECLSA meeting and another slated for November 10-12 at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

"We don't see working with others as a division of our forces," Brutus explained. "We see it as part of a buildup. We intend to send representatives to all these activities. My hope is to organize a national movement against apartheid."

"March 21 will be the nineteenth anniversary of the Sharpeville massacre and could provide a focus

for organizing such a movement," he concluded.

(On March 21, 1960, South African police opened fire on Blacks peacefully demonstrating against the regime's hated pass laws. These laws require all Africans over sixteen years old to carry identification books that restrict where they may live, work, and travel. During the two-day massacre, more than 72 Blacks were murdered and 230 wounded.)

A proposal calling for a nationwide campus moratorium on March 21 was also endorsed at the August 12 NECLSA steering committee meeting.

For further information on the New York conference contact:

North East Coalition for the Liberation of Southern Africa, c/o American Committee on Africa, 305 East Forty-sixth Street, New York, New York 10017. Telephone: (212) 838-5030.

For information on the midwest conference, contact Beth Julian, Divestiture Working Group, 1570 Oak Avenue #215, Evanston, Illinois 60201.

## South African trade unionist to tour U.S.

Drake Koka, the founder and general secretary of the Black Allied Workers Union (BAWU) in South Africa will tour eighteen U.S. cities this fall. He will speak on "The Fight for Black Majority Rule in South Africa."

BAWU was founded in August 1972. Its purpose, according to Koka, is "to organize a united, powerful African workers union."

Koka was also a cofounder and first general secretary of the Black People's Convention, an umbrella organization that developed out of the Black Consciousness Movement. The Black People's Convention and other major Black groups were outlawed last October by the South African government.

In February 1973 the apartheid regime placed Koka under a five-year ban that kept him under house arrest. He was arrested and jailed for eight months during 1974-75.

After participating in the June 1976 Soweto rebellion, Koka was again banned by the government. He was forced to escape to Botswana to avoid arrest.

The first stops on Koka's tour are:

Indianapolis	Oct. 2-3
Cincinnati	Oct. 3-4
Toledo	Oct. 5
Cleveland	Oct. 6-7

Pittsburgh/	
Morgantown	Oct. 9-11
Philadelphia	Oct. 12-13
Boston/	
W. Massachusetts	Oct. 16-19

The Drake Koka Tour Committee is sponsoring the tour. Initial endorsers include Jerry Gordon, international representative, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America; Rep. Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.); Jocelyn Williams, executive director of American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, Federal Council 26 in Washington, D.C.; Leon Harris, president of Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP; and James Harris, national coordinator, National Student Coalition Against Racism.

Also, Walter Johnson, president of Retail Clerks International Union Local 1100; Gretchen Mackler, president of Alameda Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO; William Simons, president of Washington Teachers Union Local 6; Jim Davis, Ad-Hoc Coalition of Concerned Steelworkers; and Vince Benson, executive committee member, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists in Washington, D.C.

For further information contact the Drake Koka Tour Committee, c/o Greenwich Village-Chelsea NAACP, 42 Grove Street, New York, New York. Telephone: (212) 243-1650.

—O.M.



DRAKE KOKA

## Senate approves D.C. representation plan

By Baxter Smith

WASHINGTON—Seven hundred thousand U.S. citizens came another step closer to the thirteen colonies' dream of ending taxation without representation, when the U.S. Senate approved a constitutional amendment August 22 to give District of Columbia residents voting representation in Congress.

The amendment will allow the district to elect two senators with voice and vote, and representatives to the House based on population.

District residents currently have one token, nonvoting, representative.

With the House having passed the measure last spring, the sixty-seven to thirty-two Senate vote—one more than the required two-thirds majority—means the measure will now go to the state legislatures.

To become law, thirty-eight states must ratify the measure within the next seven years.

Supporters of the amendment have labeled it "the civil and human rights act of 1978."

For years, Democrats and Republicans have joined hands in blocking passage of a genuine representation measure for D.C., but apparently decided it was no longer opportune to do so.

The Carter administration, not wanting to appear an opponent of human rights at home, backed the measure.

The principal mover of the amend-

ment was Edward Kennedy (D-Mass.), who praised bipartisan support for the measure.

Opponents sought to hide the racist nature of their opposition to the measure, which gives this seventy-percent Black city a right which it has not held since 1800, when Washington, D.C. came into being. Then, according to historian Constance McLaughlin Green, business interests opposed D.C. suffrage because it would have led to a municipal government "dominated by Negro and propertyless voters."

Sen. Orrin Hatch (R-Utah) said that the present amendment is "unconstitutional, but nobody wants to be accused of racism."

Some senators argued for giving the District to Maryland or Virginia to diffuse the power of its Black electorate.

Sen. S.I. Hayakawa (R-Cal.), confusing his own role with that he alleged to be the District's, accused the city of having "a parasitical relationship" with the country.

Washington, he said, is a city that "produces no wealth" and "wallows in wealth" by exacting "tribute" in taxes from others.

Interestingly, the vote was supported by some of the Senate's most openly racist members, including Herman Talmadge (D-Ga.), and Strom Thurmond (R-S.C.).

Thurmond, the 1948 Dixiecrat candi-

date for U.S. president, has steadfastly voted against civil rights legislation. He opposed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and, as recently as 1973, voted against District residents having electoral power.

Asked why he supported D.C. voting rights now but opposed them in 1973, Thurmond claimed that the government is now pursuing democracy around the world and it could be embarrassing to deny democracy to D.C. residents.

An aide to one southern senator told the *Washington Post* that many senators who voted for the amendment were actually against it, and that if it had been "a secret vote, it would have been thirty-two for and sixty-seven against."

Thurmond and other senators from the South—where Black registration has doubled and tripled since the 1965 Voting Rights Act—were no doubt weighing the prospect of an angered Black electorate when they cast affirmative votes.

Glova Scott, Socialist Workers Party candidate for mayor of D.C., called the vote "a first step in giving more political control to Blacks."

Scott blasted the present sham home-rule structure, set up in 1974, giving residents the right to elect a city council and mayor, but denying "the control over the city budget, criminal code and legislation." Control will still

be denied if D.C. wins congressional representation.

The Black socialist also added a cautionary note. Because the amendment won approval in Congress, she said, it should not be assumed it will sail through the state legislatures. "Back in 1970," she said, "such an assumption was made by too many when Congress placed the Equal Rights Amendment before the states for ratification. And we see today what a fight is involved in getting it through."

"It would be more realistic," she said, "to assume that it will require mass pressure and protests, similar to that which is needed for the ERA."

Scott added a point. "This would also be a good time to consider what's needed to ensure genuine representation for D.C. Blacks in Congress."

"In my view," she said, "this means breaking out of the two-party trap. The whole history of the Democratic and Republican parties demonstrates that they serve the interests that profit from racism."

"What is needed," she declared, "are Black candidates for public office, and candidates put forward by the labor movement, who stand independent of and in opposition to the twin parties of racism. Congressional representation for Washington is surely a gain for Black liberation. To make good use of it, we need representatives in Congress who are really ours."

## AFT convention meets

# 'Schools in Crisis': Shanker offers no

By Jon Hillson

WASHINGTON—The blue and yellow banner announced the theme of the American Federation of Teachers convention: "Schools in Crisis: America's Agenda."

But by the time the August 21-25 gathering of 2,400 delegates and observers ended, it was evident that the convention's real meaning could better be summed up: "Teachers Under Stepped-up Attack: No Response Forthcoming from AFT Officialdom."

Above all, the convention of the 500,000-member union displayed the incapacity of the national AFT leader-

Next week's 'Militant' will carry further coverage of the AFT convention, including debates over the role of Cuban troops in Africa and Shanker's attempt to whitewash U.S. war crimes in Vietnam.

ship, headed by Albert Shanker, to chart a course to defend teachers and education.

Shanker's policies—reliance on the antilabor Democratic and Republican parties, factional warfare against the much larger National Education Association, and virulent opposition to struggles by the Black, Chicano, and Puerto Rican communities—have left the AFT weakened and divided.

With the failure of these policies more glaringly evident than ever, Shanker's response was to tighten his bureaucratic grip at the AFT convention and try to block discussion of alternative proposals.

In his "state of the union" address, Shanker noted some of the attacks on education, chief among them the budget cutbacks now being spread under the guise of Proposition 13-style "tax reform," and the tuition tax credit scheme to undercut public schools.

### Tuition tax credit

The tuition tax credit bill, which would provide federal subsidies to private and parochial schools, was introduced in the U.S. Senate by Daniel Moynihan (D-N.Y.). Shanker had poured considerable AFT resources into electing Moynihan because his racist and anticommunist stands dovetailed with Shanker's.

Shanker said that stopping tuition tax credit was the number one issue facing the AFT. The union would win this political battle, he said, by refusing to endorse candidates who support the tax credits.

No balance sheet was drawn on the AFT's past "success" in electing "friends" such as Moynihan.

No suggestion was offered by the



George Meany addressing AFT convention. Union leaders failed to chart a course to defend teachers and public education.

Militant/Lou Howort

AFT leadership for what teachers should do when both Democrats and Republicans take openly antilabor stands. Shanker adamantly opposes running independent labor candidates or launching an independent labor party to combat the two big-business parties.

Despite Shanker's verbal concern over the new wave of education cutbacks symbolized by Proposition 13, the AFT Executive Council offered no proposal whatsoever to deal with this issue.

Not all was gloom and doom in Shanker's report. "All of us can be very proud and happy," he said, over the Supreme Court's *Bakke* decision outlawing affirmative-action quotas.

William Simons, president of the Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union, offered a different view in his brief opening greetings to the convention. He listed three priorities: developing a strategy to save public education, mounting a campaign to defend affirmative action, and "addressing the problem of the erosion of democracy in our union."

### Convention 'packed'

"Many people ask me, why bother coming to the convention when it's decided in advance, when it's packed," Simons said. "Our union has to be open to all its members, for their full participation."

That was far from the case at this convention.

Shanker wields a mechanical majority through the big, overwhelmingly white delegations from New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia. There is no proportional representation—a 49 percent minority in a local would receive no delegates. At the convention itself, these delegations cast bloc votes under the discipline of Shanker's misnamed Progressive Caucus.

To minimize floor discussion, many crucial issues were pushed off to late afternoon on the last day of the convention.

Despite these handicaps, a vigorous effort was made by advocates of alternative policies. And Shanker suffered some surprising reverses in convention committees.

The Washington Teachers Union put forward a resolution calling for united action by teachers and their allies against the bipartisan assault on education. It pointed to the \$126 billion war budget and the shift of the tax

burden from the corporations to working people as prime causes of the education cutbacks.

### Public-employee conference

The resolution called for "a national conference of all public employee unions"—including the National Education Association—"to develop a united labor strategy to educate the public and to halt and reverse these attacks on public employees."

A similar resolution at last year's convention met with little response, delegates recalled. But this year, over the Shankerites' objections, it was approved by a big margin in committee.

On the convention floor, a dozen delegates spoke in favor. The call for unity had a powerful appeal.

"Usually the resolutions we hear are just talk and paper," a California delegate noted. "By approving this public-employee conference, we have some teeth, something concrete, something to do."

Only three speakers argued against the WTU resolution. One was Shanker, who relinquished the chair to personally rally opposition to the proposal.

"I might be for a conference," he said, "but this meeting is too big to discuss this. We need private meetings. And we have to make sure we don't end up in conference with our enemies."

The resolution was defeated by a two-to-one margin on a voice vote. But the count indicated significant defections of Progressive Caucus members from the Shanker line.

The convention voted overwhelmingly to endorse the economic boycott of states that have not ratified the Equal Rights Amendment.

The ERA boycott was fiercely debated in committee, with Shankerite hardliners arguing against the measure. The committee voted approval anyway. The sharpness of the committee fight convinced the Shanker leadership to change its position by the time the resolution came to the floor.

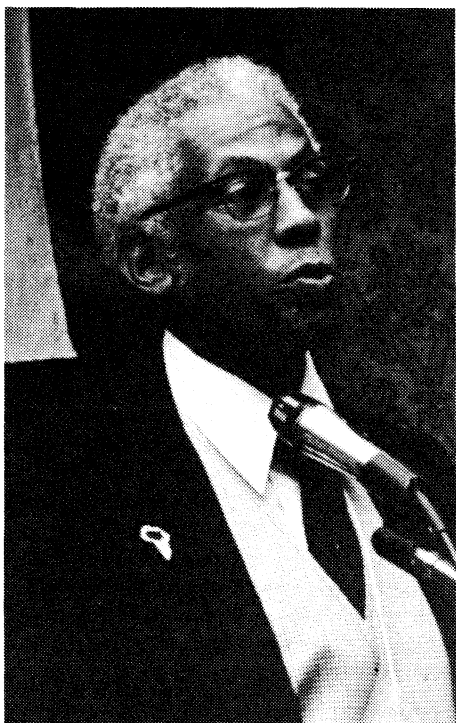
The convention also passed by a big margin a resolution putting the national AFT on record against Proposition 6, the anti-gay rights Briggs initiative in California. This ballot initiative would bar the employment of gay teachers and teachers who support gay rights. Gay teachers at the convention led an effort to amend the original Shanker-stamped resolution, which did not even mention the Briggs danger.

Opposition to apartheid was expressed in the easy passage of a resolution submitted by the Berkeley Federation of Teachers. It called for a series of sanctions against South Africa, including divestiture by colleges of stock in corporations that do business in the white-minority-ruled country.

### Affirmative action

The approval of such measures and the debate around others shows that the Shanker monolith is not immune to pressure. The bureaucratic machine came down full force, however, on the item of business that fired the most heated debate last year: affirmative action.

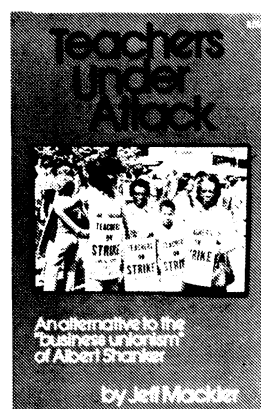
A hard-hitting resolution to defend affirmative action and union contract rights by fighting to reverse the *Weber*



WILLIAM SIMONS

Militant/Lou Howort

## Teachers Under Attack



By Jeff Mackler

- How can teachers organize effectively against massive educational cutbacks?
- Why should the AFT stop supporting Democrats and Republicans?
- Why have the present policies of both the NEA and AFT proved so inadequate in defending teachers' living standards?
- This pamphlet offers a program for teachers to defend public education.

32 pp., 50 cents. Order from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014. Please include 25 cents for postage and handling; 50 cents on orders of \$5 or more.



# solution

decision (see accompanying story) split the Human Rights Committee down the middle. On a tie vote of forty-three to forty-three, the resolution failed to win a recommendation for approval on the convention floor.

However, a general pro-affirmative action resolution passed the committee forty-five to thirty-nine—another setback for Shanker—and was reported out favorably.

The Washington Teachers Union delegation, which had introduced the general affirmative-action resolution, supported replacing it with the more specific resolution against *Weber*. The delegates had learned of the *Weber* case and its far-reaching implications only after the pre-convention deadline for submitting resolutions had passed.

WTU delegates and other supporters of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education then proposed on the convention floor to substitute the anti-*Weber* resolution for the general one.

## 'They have to be smashed'

The discussion had barely begun when the Shankerites used their mechanical majority to cut off debate.

"These people," said a Shankerite delegate from Chicago, referring to the supporters of affirmative action, "are divisive, and they divided our convention last year. They have to be smashed. We have to knock them down, once and for all."

Throughout the convention, such angry threats and denunciations were never directed against union-busting school boards or budget-cutting politicians. Only against those who sought to put the AFT on the side of the oppressed.

There could be no clearer picture of who Shanker looks to as allies, and who he sees as his bitterest enemies.

The same truth was inadvertently bared in the convention address by AFL-CIO President George Meany. Bemoaning the defeat of the labor law reform bill, Meany said, "But frankly I had not expected America's blue-chip corporations to join the fray—especially in such a sneaky, underhanded manner. . . . All of them profess to believe in law and order and, since labor law reform was primarily a law-and-order bill, I expected that, if they didn't publicly support the bill, they would at least be quiet."

"Schools in crisis," the convention banner read.

And they will continue to be in crisis until a powerful movement of rank-and-file teachers is organized to win democracy in the AFT and fight together with the Black and Latino communities against the blue-chip corporations, the school boards, and the capitalist-party politicians.



ALBERT SHANKER

Militant/Lou Howort

# 'Weber' case: challenge to teachers

By Jon Hillson

WASHINGTON—Not many people have heard of Brian Weber—yet.

But the impact of his "reverse discrimination" suit, now before the Supreme Court, could "make *Bakke* seem like kindergarten."

That's the opinion of Oliver Montgomery, vice-president of United Steelworkers of America Local 3657 and a leader of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists.

At the American Federation of Teachers convention, Montgomery spoke to sixty-five people at a panel discussion on "The Struggle for Equality After *Bakke*." The meeting was sponsored by the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education.

Montgomery explained that Weber, a white employee of Kaiser Aluminum in Gramercy, Louisiana, is suing to overturn an affirmative-action program the USWA negotiated with Kaiser in 1974.

The plan set up a training program for skilled jobs. One Black trainee was to be selected for every white trainee until the proportion of Blacks in skilled jobs was about the same as in the area work force—39 percent.

Before the plan, Blacks held only 2 percent of the skilled jobs at the Gramercy plant.

Bidding for the skilled positions was still to be done by seniority, but separate seniority lines were set up for Blacks and whites. Because of the history of discrimination against Blacks at Kaiser and throughout industry, this was the only way for Blacks to get equal opportunity to bid on the skilled jobs.

Weber contends he was a victim of "reverse discrimination" because he had more seniority than some Blacks admitted to the program.

## Education needed

The case of *Weber v. Kaiser Aluminum and the United Steelworkers*, Oliver Montgomery said, "is a sleeper, yet it could be greater than *Bakke* because it is centered in the workplace." He said that "education is a necessity" to make unionists aware of the case.

Both the federal district court and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals have upheld Weber's claims. If the Supreme Court rules in Weber's favor, Montgomery said, it would "outlaw and make it impossible for unions to sit down with employers and negotiate affirmative-action programs."

Montgomery underscored the dual character of the *Weber* challenge: against affirmative action and against collective bargaining rights of unions. "The sanctity of the contract is violated," he said.

Weber bases his suit on Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which forbids discrimination on the basis of color. "This was passed to protect us, and now it's being used to reverse us," Montgomery said.

To counter the momentum against affirmative action generated by the *Bakke* decision, Montgomery said, "we must mobilize again, we must marshal our forces within our unions and communities to stop this onslaught. We must go to the grass-roots people, the people who took to the streets in the 1960s in the civil rights movement, who went to jail, who won the gains under attack."

## Solidarity with women

Montgomery noted that a Weber victory would also eliminate hiring, training, and promotion programs for women in industry. He called for solidarity between minorities and women in the fight to defend affirmative action.

"Blacks and women have the power to stop this country," he said. "We can be a tremendous force, if we use our power."

Montgomery also praised the Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education as "a strong caucus fighting for

change . . . the necessary nucleus of dedicated people you need to accomplish big things."

A central aspect of the work of the caucus is to educate AFT members on the need for affirmative action and to reverse the national AFT's opposition to such programs. AFT President Albert Shanker was the most prominent union official to support Allan Bakke.

"Without any question the AFT is in the wrong on *Bakke*," California Federation of Teachers President Raoul Teilhet told the forum. The union's national leadership has catered to "the worst elements in society" by lining up against affirmative action.

Teilhet's call for a renewal of struggle against the *Weber* case was seconded by Washington (D.C.) Teachers Union President William Simons, who defended the use of quotas in affirmative action. Simons is the national coordinator of the AFT Caucus on Desegregation and Equality in Education.

"We have been kept out of the mainstream, and we want in," he said. "We have been 'quota-ed' out, and we want to be 'quota-ed' in. I don't care what we call it—a quota, a guideline, a goal, or a timetable. Whatever it's called, as long as it works it should be used."

## 'Support the Steelworkers'

Stephanie Coontz, vice-president of the Evergreen State College AFT local, urged teachers to take the fight against the *Weber* decision back to their locals to "help win support for the Steelworkers against this major attack."

"We can never act as a united, fighting labor movement as long as one section of us is pitted against another," Coontz said. "That is just what Weber is trying to do."

She said the Kaiser plant USWA local was stronger because of the affirmative-action plan, not weaker, because the union put itself on the side of Black workers.

She linked Weber's suit to "the overall offensive of the employers against our standard of living and the rights of working people, an offensive which hits the minorities the hardest." The labor movement must, Coontz said,



OLIVER MONTGOMERY

Militant/Lou Howort



STEPHANIE COONTZ

Militant/Lou Howort

"act in solidarity with its natural allies, like the Black community" to defeat this offensive.

Uniting the labor movement, the Black community, and women in a fight against the deadly danger posed by the *Weber* suit is a burning necessity. Because, in Oliver Montgomery's words, "if we don't use our power, we won't have anything left."

## 'Free Hector Marroquin'

WASHINGTON—Hundreds of teachers at the AFT convention here backed Héctor Marroquín's struggle for political asylum in the United States.

If deported back to his native Mexico, Marroquín, a former high school teacher, faces imprisonment and torture. Authorities there have framed him up on criminal charges because of his activities in the Mexican student movement.

Marroquín, twenty-five, is a member of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. He was active in a Teamsters organizing drive while living in Houston.

At the AFT convention, Marroquín told his story to convention delegates from Boston to New Orleans. The Washington, D.C., delegation voted overwhelmingly to support his case.

The AFT Black Caucus also endorsed Marroquín's fight. And the United Action Caucus voted unanimously to become part of the growing list of his supporters.

More than 200 individual teachers also signed petitions demanding that Leonel Castillo, President Carter's director of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, grant asylum to Marroquín. Many of those circulating the petitions were teachers who first heard of Marroquín's plight at the convention.

Three local AFT presidents—James O'Meara from Cleveland, William Simons from Washington, D.C., and Frank Sullivan from Philadelphia—signed petitions backing asylum for Marroquín. These three are also AFT national vice-presidents. Oliver Montgomery, vice-president of the International Staff Local of the United Steelworkers of America, also lent his support.

Earlier this summer, the national convention of the National Education Association voted to back Marroquín's case.

Despite this broad backing, the Shanker-dominated Progressive Caucus, which held a majority of delegates, blocked a motion for the AFT convention to consider Marroquín's request for endorsement. The Progressive Caucus even refused Marroquín's request to speak before one of its own meetings.

Nonetheless, it was only by a narrow margin of 662 to 589 that the convention voted not to hear Marroquín's appeal, showing that many members of the Progressive Caucus did vote to consider his case.

Delegates did reaffirm their support to another important defense case, however, by a huge majority. The convention urged President Carter to grant the Wilmington Ten a "full pardon of innocence." —J.H.

# Why right to vote is front-line battle in steel

By Andy Rose

"The fight for the right to vote on contracts is today the front line in the battle for union democracy in steel," says Andrew Pulley, a national committee member of the Socialist Workers Party and a leader of the party's activity in the United Steelworkers of America.

Pulley, a member of USWA Local 1066, works at the giant U.S. Steel complex in Gary, Indiana. In a recent interview with the *Militant*, he explained why socialists think the right-to-ratify issue is so significant.

"It's not just that democracy is a good thing, and so steelworkers deserve the right to vote," he said.

"I've been getting signatures on right-to-ratify petitions where I work, so I've had a chance to discuss this with many steelworkers.

"In the first place, it is obvious that we can get better contracts if we have the right to say, 'no,' to the companies' 'give-back' demands—or to any settlement we don't think is adequate. People are well aware of this. The example the coal miners set—where they turned down two offers and forced the coal companies to come up with more—had a big impact."

Pulley emphasized, however, that even more is at stake than getting better national agreements in steel.

"The labor movement is under attack as never before in decades," he said. "The employers are out to break strikes and bust unions. They are determined to hold down wages, speed up production, and tighten their control over the work force."

## Can't fight back alone

"The worker in the steel mill or auto plant feels this every day," Pulley pointed out. "Wages don't keep up with prices. Speedup wipes out jobs and makes work more hazardous. Workers are mangled and killed on the job because the companies won't spend money for safety. Black and women workers especially face harassment and discrimination of all kinds.

"So people want to know, what can we do about it? Many workers feel like the whole situation is out of their control.

"We can't fight back alone," Pulley emphasized. "We need everybody involved. We need a new kind of union movement—one that is militant and democratic, one that the members know is their own."

Today, he pointed out, few steel-



Ed Sadlowski's campaign for union president last year mobilized steelworkers around the idea of a fighting union movement. Right-to-ratify campaign shows that the sentiment is there, stronger than ever.

workers see the union as an organization fighting on their behalf. "If you think the contract is being violated, you are supposed to file a grievance, but everybody knows the grievance procedure is a sick joke.

"Every steelworker I know is acutely aware that we have no right to strike," Pulley said, referring to the no-strike Experimental Negotiating Agreement signed by top union officials in 1973. "This contributes to the feeling that we are powerless to improve matters.

"But the fact is," he quickly added, "that our union—and the other unions—have tremendous power. They are potentially the most powerful organizations in the country. Their power is blocked by a union leadership that looks to collaborate with the bosses, not stand up to them."

## Union power

"We have to have union democracy so that we can use union power," Pulley said. "The rank and file have to take over the union so we can fight back against the companies. That's what it's all about."

"Of course," he continued, "the right to vote on contracts is not a panacea to solve all our problems. But it would be a big step in the right direction. It would begin to say that we, the members, are going to have the say-so in this union. And what we will say to the bosses is not the same sweet nothings they hear from [USWA President Lloyd] McBride and Company."

Pulley said that for steelworkers to win the right to ratify would be a "death blow" to the no-strike pact in the basic steel industry.

"Steelworkers will readily understand that voting doesn't mean much unless you can back up a 'no' vote with the power of a strike," he said. "And a victory on the right to vote would inspire people to press forward and win the right to strike."

"It would open up a lot of other questions. Such as, why can't we have a say over grievances, as well? Why can't we use union power to enforce the contract?"

"If we vote on contracts, doesn't it also make sense for the ranks to control the demands and the conduct of the negotiations?"

"Why are the negotiations always held in secret, behind closed doors? The bosses and the government know exactly what's going on—the only ones who are locked out are the ranks."

"A campaign for the right to vote on contracts—a victorious campaign—could be a springboard to raise these

issues and extend union democracy much further."

## 'Apathy'?

Pulley blasted the idea that "apathy" is the reason workers are not more involved in the union.

"The union bureaucrats try to throw the blame back onto the workers for their own miserable failure to win anything. They complain about the workers not coming to union meetings, and so forth.

"The fact is that the bureaucrats do everything they can to discourage workers from participating—everything from denying us a voice on our contracts down to making union meetings boring and irrelevant to the average member."

The result, Pulley explained, is that many workers regard the union as just "part of the racket" that rips them off.

"The biggest hesitancy people have about signing the [right to ratify] petitions, at least where I work, is not that they oppose the right to ratify. Everybody is for it. But many view it as a hopeless task to try to change the union."

"There is a big educational job to be done," Pulley emphasized. "The workers have to be convinced that what they do will make a difference."

"They have to be convinced that we are the union. The union doesn't exist to uplift the lifestyle of bureaucrats like McBride. It exists for us, the ranks. And the ranks have the power to take back our union if we are mobilized in a big movement for union democracy."

"It's also important to explain how the right to ratify affects the other issues people are most concerned about. Like in my shop, many workers feel strongly about winning the shorter workweek. There are a lot of stickers around for a thirty-two-hour week at forty hours' pay."

"So I explain that if we're going to fight for a shorter workweek, we have to win some control over our union. How else can we fight for it? There is no other way."

## Inspired

"Once people have a chance to discuss what real union democracy would mean, once they become inspired with the idea of the powerful fighting organization this union could become—then they are willing to jump right into the battle."

Pulley said this was the lesson of the 1976-77 campaign of Ed Sadlowski and the Steelworkers Fight Back slate for

top union offices.

"Sادلowski presented the idea of a fighting union movement, of returning power to the ranks, of standing up for the working class—including its most oppressed elements. And the response to these ideas was tremendous," Pulley said.

"Steelworkers not only voted for the Fight Back candidates. Many thousands turned out for meetings and rallies. They went out in the early morning hours and leafleted. They gave money. Some even sacrificed their vacations to go around and campaign."

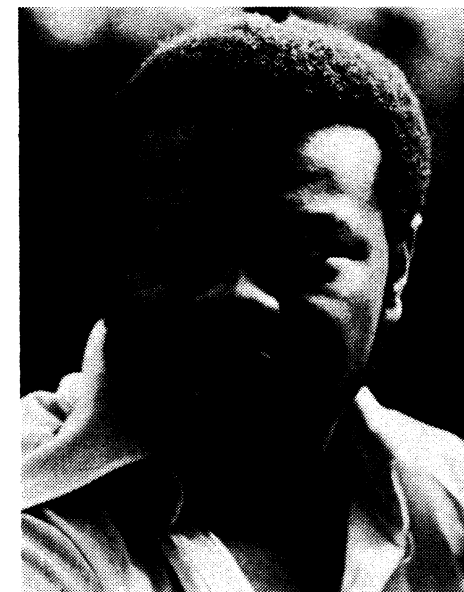
"The response to the right-to-ratify campaign—where it has been organized—shows this sentiment for a militant, democratic union is stronger than ever," Pulley asserted.

"In the Chicago-Gary area, you can't find anyone running for convention delegate who says they're against the right to ratify. Everyone says they are for it—even the McBride people. This shows the tremendous popularity of the idea."

Asked what arguments McBride gives against the right to ratify, Pulley laughed. "He has no arguments. No rational ones, anyway."

"Sometimes McBride tries to say that steelworkers could not have industry-wide bargaining if we voted on contracts. That is, he says it is an impossible dilemma—what if workers at one company accept the contract and workers at another company reject it?"

"This is nonsense. A contract is not accepted until the majority of workers covered by it vote to accept it. That's the way the coal miners do it, and they



ANDREW PULLEY

Militant/Brian Shannon

## Campaign to ratify

Support is growing within the United Steelworkers for the right of all members to vote on their contracts.

Right-to-ratify resolutions for the union's convention in Atlantic City, September 18-22, have been submitted by many locals in District 31, the Chicago-Gary area, and in District 33 on the Mesabi Iron Range.

Pittsburgh-area steelworkers have also passed right-to-ratify proposals, including U.S. Steel Locals 1557, 1397, 1256, 7097, and Local 1843 at Jones & Laughlin.

In Baltimore, both locals at the big Sparrows Point plant—2609 and 2610—have passed right-to-ratify resolutions.

And in the Los Angeles area, locals voting in favor of rank-and-file ratification are 6700, 2058, 4997, 8593, 2018, and 5726.



# union

bargain with hundreds of companies. What's wrong with that? McBride has no answer."

"Instead," Pulley continued, "McBride has chosen to launch a red-baiting campaign. He is traveling around the country making speeches about how 'outsiders' are going to try to 'disrupt' the union convention. He is trying in advance to smear anyone who challenges him as a 'disrupter,' an 'outsider,' and a 'red.'"

Pulley pointed to an article in the August issue of *Steel Labor*, the USWA newspaper, about the District 23 conference in St. Clairsville, Ohio.

In addition to highlighting McBride's warnings about "some who intend to disrupt the convention," *Steel Labor* quoted District 27 Director Harry Mayfield as saying, "We can't allow what happened to other unions happen to this union."

"What the hell does that mean?" Pulley exclaimed. "They're afraid to put it right there in print, but everybody knows he's talking about the United Mine Workers."

"To most steelworkers, the miners set a heroic example. But McBride's mouthpieces say, 'We can't let it happen here.'"

Pulley also singled out a statement by District 23 Director Paul Rusen that "while outside forces are hurting us, members are the only ones who can destroy our union."

Pulley responded, "We say no—McBride's policies threaten to destroy the union, because they freeze out the membership, give up the union's power, and leave the union helpless against the companies."

## Ongoing fight

Pulley cautioned against any illusions about how easy it will be to win the right to ratify. "McBride's red-baiting shows he is worried. But it also shows he is preparing to try to smash this movement by any underhanded means he can."

"The convention will be rigged from the word go. Thousands and thousands of steelworkers will have no representatives there. But McBride will have an army of his appointed staff reps on the floor to raise their hands on command and to shout down dissidents."

"You can be sure," Pulley said, "that McBride won't allow adequate time for discussion and he won't allow a roll-call vote of the delegates—not unless he is forced to. It is going to take a big fight."

He continued, "Whatever the outcome at the convention, the most important thing is to continue the education, continue the discussion around these ideas of union democracy."

"We have to be prepared for an ongoing fight. The key to winning the right to ratify will be to get large numbers of rank-and-file steelworkers actively involved."

"It's good for a local to pass a resolution for the right to ratify. But it's just the beginning."

"We need union meetings to discuss the issue—publicized as special events to attract big participation."

"We need discussion in the union newspapers."

"We need tens and hundreds of thousands of signatures on petitions."

"We need stickers up all over the mills."

"We need big rallies that make it clear to the steel companies and to McBride how steelworkers feel about our democratic rights—and that we're ready to fight for them."

"If the potential we've already seen around this issue is followed through," Pulley concluded, "this can be the start of a movement that wins major gains for union democracy and strengthens the United Steelworkers."

# Houston oil workers union defends Black and female ARCO trainees

By Debby Leonard

HOUSTON—Last April, the Atlantic Richfield refinery here kicked out the only two Blacks and the first and only woman in its machinist trainee program.

Discrimination is nothing new for Black, Chicano, and women workers at ARCO's Houston plant. What is new is that the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union is taking on this discrimination and helping the workers fight back.

Ten years ago, Black refinery workers here filed suit against the company and the union, charging discriminatory hiring and advancement practices at the plant.

Their victory in 1969 resulted in substantial changes in hiring policies and seniority rights at the refinery. That year the first Chicanos were hired. In 1973, ARCO employed the first women workers in the plant since World War II.

Discrimination, of course, didn't end. And in 1973, three Black workers, who had been booted out of the machinist trainee program, filed a discrimination suit against the company and the union. The courts are to decide this month if their suit can be ruled a class action.

When Cheryl Norton and Tommy Clayton were "disqualified" from the machinist trainee program this year, they went first to the union, OCAW Local 4-227. The Workmen's Committee filed grievances on their behalf, and the union sent representatives with each of them to the federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to file charges against the company. OCAW paid Norton and Clayton for their work time lost while at the EEOC meetings.

Clayton and Norton have widespread support in the plant. Because of their obvious capabilities and serious intent to become machinists, scuttlebutt first had it that they were bound to be reinstated in the program.

Debby Leonard is a member of Local 4-227 of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers union.

The company informed the union they were "investigating" the situation, but they continued to stall on giving the union a definite response.

## No stall after 'Bakke'

Two days after the Supreme Court's decision upholding the racist *Bakke* ruling, the company called the Workmen's Committee to a meeting. ARCO proceeded to deny all charges of discrimination and categorically refused to readmit Clayton or Norton to the machinist trainee program.

Clayton's statement filed with the EEOC, however, makes ARCO a liar. Submitted with his statement were ten affidavits, seven of them from first-class machinists—all white males—supporting all or part of his charges against the company.

They document his mechanical abilities. For instance, one operator stated, "Like Tommy, I am an Air Force veteran and trained at the same base for my technical school at the approximate time. . . ."

"The technical school he attended is one of the longer mechanic courses. . . . The person who successfully fulfills this job in the Air Force is very experienced and qualified in mechanical ability."

Clayton's ouster from the program had nothing to do with his experience or mechanical abilities. ARCO's record on trainee disqualification would alone be proof of that.

From 1971-1976, a total of twenty-seven people were disqualified from the various craft trainee programs at the plant. *Twenty were Black, including one Black woman, and three were Chicano.*

This doesn't begin to take into account the number of Black, Chicano, and women workers "persuaded" not to enter the craft trainee programs.

## Racist slurs

Clayton's stint as a machinist trainee is probably typical of those twenty-three "disqualified" Blacks and Chicanos.

He explains in his EEOC statement

that trainees were used to do maintenance work in the plant. One of the instructors "would make little slurs like saying that I was a good janitor. And one day in September [he] made a statement in front of a witness, James Harrison, another Black trainee, that this work looked like it was too much for us and that it still wasn't too late for us to go back and be boilermakers."

For nearly a year, Clayton's statement goes on, he did OK, passing all his tests. Then a boss walked up to him one day and handed him an inter-company mail envelope with Clayton's name on it. The envelope contained a disgusting racist "joke" headlined, "Nigger application for employment."

Clayton complained to the supervisor and demanded that he do something about the racist slur. After that, the supervisor's attitude toward Clayton changed.

"Everybody got angry because I didn't take it as a joke," Clayton said.

He started failing tests. Describing one packing test in January 1978, Clayton said, "When my turn came I took the test with no problems. But when the results came back, I had failed. . . ." Strangely, everyone passed except the two Blacks in the class.

Then in April he was disqualified and told that he could never reenter the program, although there have been others kicked out who were allowed back in.

## Overcoming divisions

The third worker disqualified, James Harrison, has now also gone to the EEOC with union support.

ARCO has long used the divisions among its work force—between women and men; between Blacks, Chicanos, and whites; between those with skills and those without—to its advantage.

The fact that OCAW is backing these three workers in their fight against company discrimination is an important step for the union. It will take an even bigger effort to win this and future fights. And in the process, the union will become stronger.

NIGGER APPLICATION FOR EMPLOYMENT	
IT IS NOT NECESSARY TO ATTACH A PHOTOGRAPH SINCE YOU ALL LOOK ALIKE.	
MARITAL STATUS:	COMMON LAW _____ SHACKED UP _____ OTHERS _____
APPROXIMATE ESTIMATE OF INCOME:	THEFT \$ _____ RELIEF \$ _____ UNEMPLOYMENT _____
PLACE OF BIRTH:	CHARITY HOSPITAL _____ FREE PUBLIC HOSPITAL _____ COTTON PATCH _____ BACK ALLEY _____ ZOO _____ OTHER _____
HOW MANY WORDS DO YOU JIVE A MINUTE	_____
CHECK MACHINES YOU CAN OPERATE:	TYPEWRITER _____ ADDING MACHINE _____ TELECOPIER _____ RUBBER MACHINE _____
CHECK FOOD YOU LIKE BEST:	BAR-B-Q _____ WATERMELON _____ CARP _____ ALL OF THE ABOVE _____ OTHERS _____
CHECK ILLNESSES YOU MAY HAVE HAD IN THE LAST YEAR:	MEASLES _____ MUMPS _____ VD _____ FOOD STAMP POISONING _____ OTHERS _____
ABILITIES:	GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE _____ DEMONSTRATION LEADER _____ EVANGALIST _____ VENERAL DISEASE SPREADER _____ ALL OF THE ABOVE _____ OTHERS _____
IN 50 WORDS OR LESS LIST YOUR GREATEST DESIRE IN LIFE: (other than a white girl)	
_____	
_____	
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RACIST SLUR: Tommy Clayton's bosses couldn't understand why he didn't find this 'joke' funny

## 'Emergency' in Peru

# Regime sends troops against miners

By Fred Murphy

The Peruvian military government sent troops and armored vehicles to five mining districts at dawn August 22, in an attempt to break a nationwide miners' strike that began August 4.

Martial law was imposed in the districts of Pasco, Marcona, Yauli, Habava, and Ilo. Troops took up positions at mines, metal refineries, and shipping ports. Constitutional guarantees were suspended in the five districts, enabling the army to search union offices and private homes without warrants, arrest strikers, ban public gatherings, and deport citizens from the country.

The government-controlled Lima daily *El Comercio* claimed August 23 that some mines had resumed production, but the National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers of Peru (FNTMMP) said the strike was continuing. The FNTMMP denounced the military measures as "brutal and repressive."

The 48,000 miners of the FNTMMP produce the vast bulk of the copper, iron, lead, zinc, and other metals that account for more than half of Peru's foreign-exchange income. Thus the strike has had an immediate impact on a regime that was already facing acute difficulties meeting its foreign debts. The government claims that losses are running at about \$1.5 million a day. The state metal-export concern MINPECO has informed customers that it cannot meet its contracts.

"We know the mining sector is considered basic to the national economy," FNTMMP General Secretary Víctor Cuadros told me in an interview at the union's Lima headquarters July 24. "The press says so, the government says so. But when it comes to solving the workers' problems, they forget all about the mining sector."

The FNTMMP's main demand is for a "labor amnesty": the reinstatement of 311 mine union leaders fired after

the July 19, 1977, general strike, along with almost 5,000 militants in other industries also dismissed at that time. Additional demands include a 25 percent wage increase (at a time when inflation is running at 70 percent) and the abrogation of two antilabor decrees that severely restrict union activity in the mines and enable employers to carry out mass layoffs at will.

The regime took a hard line from the outset, declaring the strike illegal two days before it began. The authorities refused to deal with Víctor Cuadros, claiming he could no longer represent the miners since he had himself been fired after last year's general strike.



Miners union General Secretary Víctor Cuadros with Hugo Blanco, deputy to Constituent Assembly for FOCEP.

On August 25, however, President Francisco Morales Bermúdez held a meeting with Cuadros and other FNTMMP leaders and offered to meet some of the union's demands. He said the regime would withdraw the decree banning union activity in the mines and make some changes in the decree that sanctions layoffs. In addition, compensation payments would be provided to the fired militants and no reprisals would be taken against strikers once the work stoppage had ended.

The FNTMMP announced the next day that Morales's concessions were unacceptable and that the strike would continue until all the fired workers had been rehired and the antilabor decrees abolished.

The regime may now proceed with its effort to break the strike militarily. But the miners have broad support, and the FNTMMP has taken special steps to cut across the isolation that has in the past allowed the government to break miners' strikes.

On August 9, 2,000 miners and their families set out from La Oroya, high in the Andes, on a "march of sacrifice" to Lima, almost 100 miles away. By the time the miners reached the capital August 14, their numbers had swelled to more than 10,000. "During their march the miners received the support of the people," an August 14 Latin News Service dispatch reported. "They were greeted with loud applause and ticker tape from the windows of government and private office buildings."

The miners and their families then occupied the grounds of the Faculty of Medicine near the center of Lima. Street demonstrations and rallies continue in the capital as more "marches of sacrifice" arrived from Huanzála, Cata Acari, and other mining centers.

As of August 27 there were about 12,000 miners and their families camped on the grounds of the Faculty of Medicine. The miners have announced that they will begin a mass hunger strike if their demands have

not been met by August 31.

The workers deputies in the Constituent Assembly have also helped to build support for the miners' struggle. On July 26, before the strike began, Hugo Blanco, FNTMMP activist Juan Cornejo, and other deputies from the Workers, Peasants, Students, and People's Front (FOCEP) spoke to a rally of 3,000 miners in La Oroya.

"You are the ones, with your labor, who feed the oligarchy and the imperialists," Blanco told the assembled miners. "You are the ones who pay the generals' salaries. And that is why you hold the fate of Peru in your hands. If you stop feeding these scoundrels, that will be the end of them."

The regime has charged that the strike is "political," and the government-controlled press has been making veiled threats against the deputies who support the miners. "The presence in the mining districts of ultraleftist Constituent Assembly members who have nothing to do with the problem shows that the agitation is political and not really a labor matter," *El Comercio* said August 20.

Fifteen deputies, including FOCEP leader Genaro Ledesma and FNTMMP head Cuadros responded with a public declaration August 23. They denounced the regime's threats as "maneuvers aimed at removing the leftist deputies" from the Constituent Assembly.

In fact, it is the military dictatorship's own hard stance against the miners that has turned the strike into a political confrontation between it and the workers movement. The miners' leaders understood that this could happen when they called the work stoppage.

"We know the government is ready to take all necessary measures to break this strike," Víctor Cuadros told me July 24. "But our goal is to halt the government's offensive against the working class."

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## 'Dove' sheds olive branch

# McGovern urges war drive against Cambodia

By Matilde Zimmermann

It would not be easy for the Pentagon to send U.S. troops back into Indochina to interfere in some country's internal affairs. But a call for such an invasion recently hit the news—and it issued from a most unlikely source. Sen. George McGovern, chief Democratic Party "dove" during the Vietnam War, called for a military invasion of Cambodia to topple the Pnompenh government.

McGovern claimed that the rulers of Cambodia, now called Kampuchea, carry out mass murder on a scale that makes Hitler's massacre of Jews "look very tame" by comparison. He more than doubled the widely cited—but thoroughly unreliable—claim that 1 million Cambodians have died since the fall of the old regime. McGovern asserted that as many as 2.5 million of the nation's 7 million people have perished in what he called "a clear case of genocide."

The newly hawkish senator said he thought the "ideal" solution would be an invasion under the cover of United Nations "peace-keeping" troops. But he expressed fears that the UN would not agree to such an operation and clearly implied that the United States ought to be prepared to go it alone.

"Do we sit on the sidelines and watch a population slaughtered, or do

we marshal military force and put an end to it?" McGovern asked at a Senate foreign relations subcommittee meeting on Indochina August 21.

The last thing the people of Kampuchea need is another imperialist invasion.

McGovern's warmongering is objectively a trial balloon, probing the antiwar sentiment of the American people against renewed intervention in Southeast Asia. It should be denounced by everyone who has had enough of U.S. military adventures around the globe.

Washington already bears heavy responsibility for the hardships being suffered in Kampuchea. Five years of saturation bombing coupled with invasions by American and Saigon troops totally devastated Cambodian society and economic life. It seems that Mr. McGovern has a very short memory.

The State Department, which finds the current state of affairs in Kampuchea a useful illustration of the "horrors of communism," was quick to deny any invasion plans. The Carter administration scored an undeserved propaganda point from the whole episode: it was able to pass itself off as a restraining influence on mad dog McGovern.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## The Lesser Evil?



Peter Camejo  
George Breitman  
Jack Barnes

VS.

Michael Harrington  
Carl Haessler  
Stanley Aronowitz

What is the Democratic Party—the 'party of the people' or a dead end? Should feminists, Black people, union militants, socialists, and others support the Democratic Party? Or should they run their own candidates in opposition?

*The Lesser Evil?* contains three debates that examine the alternatives in light of the cold war witch-hunt, the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War, women's liberation, the New York City budget crisis—and in the broader context of the socialist perspective.

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## Mass upsurge shaking Iran

# Protests accuse shah of murderous fire

By Parvin Najafi

A crowded movie theater in the working-class district of Abadan, the southern oil port city of Iran, was set on fire August 19. In this incident, one of the worst disasters of its kind in history, an estimated 600 persons lost their lives, and an unknown number were injured, many of them critically.

Even though no terrorist group or anyone else has taken credit for this murderous act, the shah's regime and the capitalist media around the world have pointed the finger toward the shah's opponents, specifically the "Muslim extremists."

Despite the high-pitched and well-coordinated attempt of the Iranian regime and its international backers to pin this horrendous mass murder on opponents of the shah's despotic rule, all the evidence points to the involvement of the bloodthirsty court gang of Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi.

That this is the conclusion the people of Iran themselves have drawn is shown by the fact that the funeral ceremonies for the victims of the fire quickly turned into massive antigovernment protests.

*Washington Post* correspondent William Branigan reported from Abadan August 26:

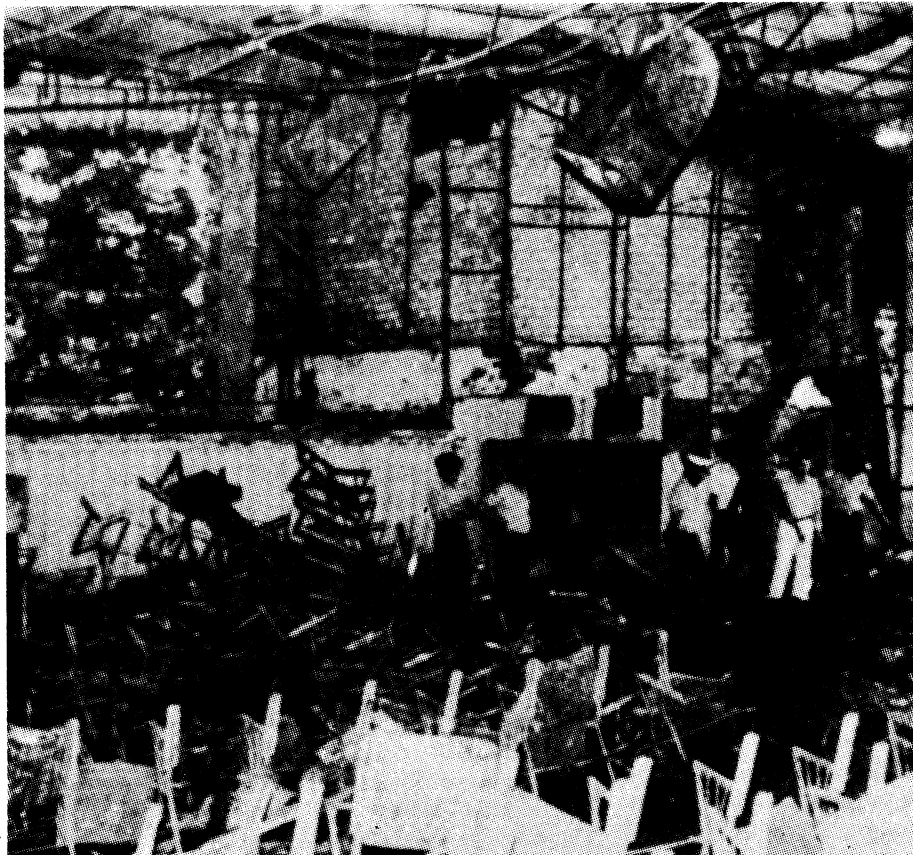
"Mourning ceremonies for the victims of last Saturday's Abadan theater fire turned into violent anti-shah demonstrations last night as this southwest Iranian oil town entered what residents said would be a 'day of blood.'

"The feeling against Shah Mohammed Reza Pahlavi and his government—blamed by a majority of the townspeople for the tragedy—is open, virulent and overwhelmingly widespread in Abadan, the site of one of the world's largest oil refineries and a key city in the Iranian economy.

"Seemingly to a man, residents of this hot, humid town at the head of the Persian Gulf accuse the local police and fire department of responsibility for the magnitude of the disaster by locking the cinema doors, preventing rescue attempts and displaying sheer incompetence. Many also claim the fire left more than 600 people dead instead of the 377 reported by the government.

"At bottom is the message, widely expressed, that after eight months of antigovernment disturbances and frequently violent police responses, in various parts of the country, the only solution of the problem is that the shah must go. . . .

"Swarming into the streets last night, the demonstrators in Abadan shouted, 'Death to the shah' and 'Burn him.' As the people coursed through the city there were cries of 'We want an



Police inspect charred ruins of Rex Cinema in Abadan (left). Anguish over this horrendous crime has spurred angry demonstrations against the shah.



end to 50 years of Pahlavi tyranny,' a reference to the shah's father. . . .

"The anti-shah tenor of the disturbances was illustrated by Abadan's leading religious figure, Ayatollah Mohammed Kazem Dehdachidi. In an interview he said, 'The majority of the people are against the shah. The shah has to go. That's the only thing that will satisfy the people.'

### Shah launches witch-hunt

Less than two hours after the fire, a crowd of government supporters, obviously organized beforehand, gathered in front of Abadan's city hall demanding the punishment of "subversives," "extremists," and "saboteurs."

The government announced a national day of mourning for those killed in the fire.

Already thirteen persons have been arrested as suspects—three employees of the Rex Cinema and ten teachers at a local school. According to officials, the teachers were arrested "because they were known to have provoked students to violence."

Immediately after the arrest of the teachers, the local head of the Ministry of Education lodged a protest, declaring that they were not in any way involved in the disaster.

Both political and religious leaders have repudiated the government charges blaming the fire on the opposition. A press release by the "Young Muslim Organization" (abroad) states: "Ayatollah Shariatmadari [a major

leader of the religious opposition], categorically denying the government accusation, declared publicly that the Abadan fire was another action initiated by the government itself, and expressed his deepest sympathy for the victims and their families."

William Branigan, writing in the August 24 *Washington Post*, reported:

"Moderate political opposition leader Karim Sanjabi told a news conference in Tehran last night that he had no 'correct information' on the fire, but that it reminded him of the 1933 Reichstag fire in Germany as Hitler was coming to power. The Nazis blamed the sabotage on their Communist foes and made significant propaganda advances, but were later considered to have set the blaze themselves."

On August 21 Iranian students demonstrated in Washington and Paris, blaming the shah for the murder of those killed in the fire.

### Wave of protests

The Abadan fire came after almost a month of antigovernment protests and demonstrations throughout Iran.

After the nationwide protests that began on May 9, the religious leaders did not call for any further mobilizations and actively sought to prevent the indignant population from pouring into the streets. But demonstrations began to occur even without their official call.

The first of this series of demonstrations occurred on June 8 in Mahabad (the capital of the independent Kurdish republic of 1945-46).

The next demonstration began on July 22, at the funeral of Sheikh Ahmad Kafi, in Meshed. Kafi, a prominent leader of the religious opposition, died in a mysterious car accident outside Meshed. The police charged into his funeral procession, killing about 40 and injuring scores of others.

In the next week, demonstrations spread to eighteen cities, according to a government spokesman.

In Tehran the memorial meeting held for Kafi and other religious leaders on July 26 became an antigovernment demonstration that lasted through July 28.

On August 5 the shah made a nationwide televised speech on the seventy-second anniversary of winning the constitution through the 1906 revolution.

In this speech, which was reported throughout the world, he promised

"western-style democracy." He said, "We shall give the maximum political liberties, the freedom of speech and the press, the freedom to stage public demonstrations, within the prevalent limits."

In the week that followed, however, the shah's promise of political liberties was put to the test, and it was shown to have been very limited indeed.

A new series of demonstrations broke out on August 10 and spread to almost every corner of Iran.

In Isfahan, where the most massive demonstration took place, the government declared martial law for one month. But, according to reports in the semiofficial daily *Kayhan*, the people began to defy the martial-law regulations on a massive scale.

### Leadership changing hands

In Tabriz August 12, the first day of the fall semester of Azarbadegan University, the students organized a massive antigovernment demonstration.

The students presented a list of twenty-seven demands to the university administrators and announced they will not return to classes until their demands are fully met. Among their demands are:

1. Immediate and unconditional withdrawal of guards and SAVAK (the secret police) from campus.

2. Immediate arrest and trial of those responsible for the murder of students May 8.

3. Freedom for all the students who had been arrested in the past few days and throughout the past several years.

The students of Azarbadegan University have been on strike continuously throughout the spring and summer semesters. Now the government authorities are threatening to close the university down completely.

More and more, as was admitted by the military governor of Isfahan, the leadership of demonstrations is passing from the hands of religious leaders into the hands of militant youth—high school and university students.

It was in this context that the Rex Cinema in Abadan was set on fire.

The growing conviction among the Iranian population that the shah's agents are responsible for the enormous toll of deaths is fueling further antigovernment mobilizations, which can become a link in a chain of mass actions capable of bringing this hated regime down once and for all.

From Intercontinental Press/Inprecor

## CAIFI blasts 'barbaric and sinister act'

"The Abadan fire took place in a situation of almost continuous antigovernment protest actions and demonstrations throughout Iran," says a protest statement issued August 26 by the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI).

The broadly sponsored human rights organization warns that "the Iranian regime will use the fire as a pretext in order to further crack down against all opposition groups advocating democratic and civil liberties."

An international public outcry is needed to head off such a crackdown and advance the fight to free all the

shah's political prisoners, CAIFI says.

CAIFI urges all defenders of human rights to "condemn the Shah's regime for this barbaric and sinister act" in Abadan and to "protest the intensification of political repression in Iran," as well as to "demand that the Iranian government release all those framed up and arrested in the wake of the Abadan fire."

CAIFI asks that protest messages along these lines be sent to Ardeshtir Zahedi, Ambassador of Iran, 3005 Massachusetts Avenue, Washington, D.C. 20008. For more information, contact CAIFI at 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003. Telephone: (212) 673-6390.

# Active Workers and Socialist Education

## By Steve Clark

OBERLIN, Ohio—Conference organizers had expected only about 1,100 people.

But somehow, even when you first arrived here August 5, it seemed bigger. It also seemed militant and optimistic.

There was something new in the atmosphere.

There was the confidence and excitement of hundreds and hundreds of socialists who were talking politics on the job in steel mills, auto plants, rail yards, and—for the first time in decades—in a few coal mines.

There was the spirit and enthusiasm generated by the cascade of demonstrations and protests over the spring and summer—against the *Bakke* decision, against nuclear power and weapons, against U.S. support to the racist regimes in southern Africa; and for gay rights, for passage of the Equal Rights Amendment, for jobs.

It somehow seemed bigger, and, as it turned out, it was. When the registration figures were finally tallied, 1,550 members and friends of the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance had turned up to attend the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference.

\* \* \*

The scope of educational, practical, cultural, and recreational activities at the conference was almost dizzying. It

took a twenty-four-page printed booklet and schedule just to list them all.

And that couldn't include the thousands of political discussions that took place over breakfast, lunch, dinner, during breaks, and late into the evening after formal sessions had ended.

Because of work schedules, many steelworkers, auto workers, and other industrial workers couldn't attend the entire eight-day conference. But they shuttled in by car from Detroit, Pittsburgh, Chicago, Toledo, Louisville, and Cleveland—some making the round trip twice. Others from farther away flew in for two, three, or four days.

Conference participants came from twenty-seven states and forty-three cities—activists in the Black liberation struggle, women's rights fighters, Chicano and Puerto Rican activists.

## Students

There were members of the Young Socialist Alliance from many colleges and high school campuses.

Many of the spring protest actions were student-led, and the YSA members at the conference held a special meeting to discuss their fall plans. In addition, there were workshops on building the YSA in high schools, campus solidarity work with the African liberation struggle, selling the *Young Socialist* monthly newspaper, and other YSA activities.

This was the first national educational conference sponsored by the

## By Nancy Cole

OBERLIN, Ohio—Beneath a giant banner reading, "Building a party of workers—preparing for the battles ahead," Socialist Workers Party National Secretary Jack Barnes set the theme for the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference.

"From Canada to France, from Sweden to Mexico, from New Zealand to Colombia," Barnes told socialists here, "the central task facing the parties of the Fourth International is to lead a big majority of our comrades into industry, into the industrial unions, and to do it now."

Throughout the next six days speeches, classes, workshops, and meetings of socialists who are active in trade unions developed this idea: that the center of politics has shifted to the industrial working class; that there is new motion among working people, and that the place for members of the revolutionary party is inside industrial unions.

Barnes emphasized two factors that have changed the relationship of forces worldwide between the ruling rich and the workers.

## Colonial struggles

First was the defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam. This not only weakened the U.S. colossus, but the legacy of the antiwar movement has helped tie the hands of American rulers in future military adventures.

The second factor was the 1974-75 worldwide economic recession. It deflated the myth of capitalist stability. And the big-business attacks on labor that followed the recession have stirred working people around the world to begin fighting back.

This shift to the advantage of working people has meant that these anti-labor assaults are launched by the employers from a position of growing weakness, not strength.

The upsurge of colonial struggles around the world continues to be an

important aspect of world politics, with the African revolution moving to the forefront, noted Barnes. Because of the antiwar feelings of the American people, the U.S. military machine as never before is hampered from directly intervening to crush these struggles.

Added to the imperialists' dilemma is a new factor—revolutionary Cuba's decision to send tens of thousands of troops to Africa to fight against imperialism and its friends, the white minority regimes of southern Africa. This has led to very serious threats against the Cuban revolution by Carter. And the dangers of U.S. military intervention in other "trouble spots" in the world is very real.

The world crisis of capitalism has in turn intensified the crisis of leadership in the working class. It has fostered major problems for the class collaborationists—from the union officialdom in the United States to the big Socialist and Communist parties and the union bureaucracies they staff in Western Europe.

Labor's misleaders are floundering, unable to fend off the attacks on their union. Meanwhile, millions of workers are looking for something different—a new kind of labor leadership that will stand up and mobilize the power of the unions to defend their interests.

This leadership doesn't yet exist. It will emerge as part of the struggle by the workers to change their unions into instruments of struggle.

Socialists are not simply waiting for this class-struggle wing to come into being, Barnes said. They are in the industrial unions, helping to lay the groundwork for its construction.

Internationally, he said, the majority of the leadership of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization, recently submitted a resolution for discussion that comes to the same conclusion.

This proposal that the entire Fourth International make a turn to industry is one of the most important decisions

## Confidence optimism in

SWP since 1974. For the past three years, the party's annual national gatherings have been delegated decision-making conventions.

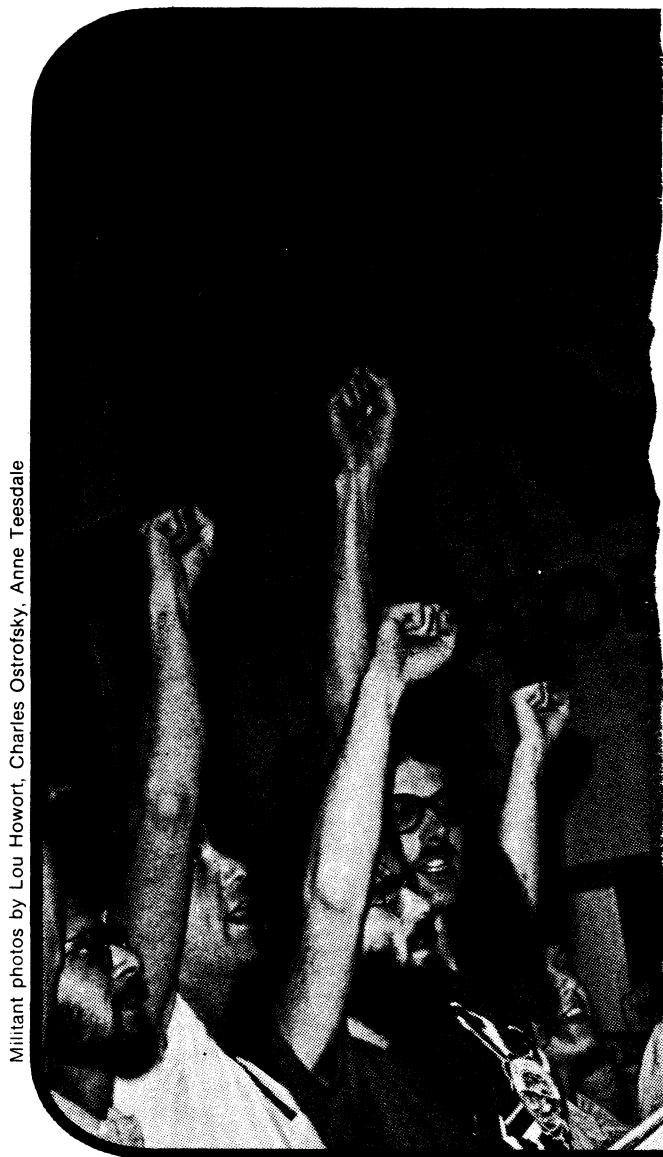
## Thirst for socialist ideas

The theme of this year's conference was the growing radicalization of working people and the party's determination to respond to these new open-

ings by le members

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Militant photos by Lou Howort, Charles Ostrofsky, Anne Teesdale

in its history, declared Barnes.

"Carrying it out systematically and to the end is one of the biggest challenges the International has ever faced."

## Mass party is goal

"Simply sending the majority of our present cadres into industry and into the industrial unions is not in and of

members trial union building

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## Leading the into indus

itself the solution to building a mass revolutionary party of workers," Barnes continued.

"The key to doing this is winning thousands of workers to the party. Our goal is building a mass party of workers, a party that speaks not only for the interests of the working class—which we have always done through our program—but a party that represents the working class, by organizing its most advanced militant fighters in its own ranks.

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conference.

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activist on the job or in  
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for the Equal Rights Amendment. In addition to being activists, we must be armed with the lessons of earlier struggles, the example of those who went before us, and the theoretical foundations of our movement.

"That's why we take the time to study. We take the time to study so we can know what to do next and have an idea about how to do it."

There was something a little different about the attitude that socialists took with them into the classes at this conference. As in previous years, they were there to better equip themselves as educated Marxists and revolutionary fighters.

But this time around, many participants were there for a more immediate

purpose, too: They had been talking politics with co-workers every day, running into experiences and tactical problems in their new arena of political activity. They wanted to find out how to better explain some of the questions that come up, and how revolutionists in the past have handled similar problems, situations, and opportunities.

Each morning, there was a major talk:

- "Building an International Party of Workers" by SWP National Secretary Jack Barnes;
- "Ferment in Steel" by Andrew Pulley, a member of United Steelworkers Local 1066 in Gary, Indiana;
- "The Fight for Black Liberation

Today" by SWP National Committee member John Hawkins;

- "Anatomy of Stalinism: The American Communist Party Today" by *Militant* editor Mary-Alice Waters;

- "Youth and the American Socialist Revolution" by Cathy Sedwick, national chairperson of the Young Socialist Alliance;

- "The Socialist Workers Party Today and Tomorrow" by SWP National Committee member Betsey Stone.

There were six one-part classes, twenty-three two-part class series, and twelve three-part class series. Altogether, that makes ninety-four class sessions during the week. Participants could attend any of the class series or

*Continued on page 19*



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unionists were from industries such as steel, rail, auto, and the shipyards. They were Teamsters, electrical workers, machinists, and others.

### Coal strike

At the heart of much of the discussion here was the inspiring example set by the coal miners during their nationwide strike last winter. "This was a tremendous experience for the labor movement and our party to go through," a Chicago steelworker told the steel fraction. "We are all different because of this strike. We are more convinced of the combative mood of the American workers."

Unionists here reported that the coal miners' fight prompted countless workers to talk among themselves or to declare on the floor of union meetings, "If the coal miners can do it, why can't we?"

The labor solidarity generated in support of the coal strike offered many unionists their first glimpse of what a fighting, class-struggle union movement could do.

Other union activities discussed here showed the beginning involvement of the union movement around issues championed by the Black movement. These include support to the fight for Black majority rule in South Africa,

opposition to the racist *Bakke* ruling, and the new challenge to equal job opportunity—Brian Weber's case in Louisiana against affirmative action in the steel industry.

In his report to the conference on the Black movement today, SWP National Committee member John Hawkins noted that to beat back the attacks on Blacks and the entire working class a new generation of leaders for both the Black and labor movements must come forward.

"That is why the growing radicalization among industrial workers is so important for the Black movement and all the oppressed," Hawkins said. "Because it's from this new generation of workers—Black and white—that a new leadership can come for the Black liberation struggle, and a new leadership can emerge and transform the union movement into a fighting ally."

### Women in the unions

The same conclusions were drawn from the growing role of women in the labor movement.

"The determination of women to fight for their rights has added a new dimension to the steelworkers union," said Andrew Pulley, a Chicago steelworker and SWP National Committee

member. "It has strengthened our union. And their radicalism has begun to give a new flavor to union activity."

In Chicago's District 31 of the United Steelworkers, women are organized in a districtwide caucus and local women's committees. Other unionists here described similar formations—most of them new—in their unions.

Many of these committees were responsible for winning union endorsement and organizing large labor contingents for the July 9 Equal Rights Amendment march on Washington, D.C.

This growing involvement of unions in protest activities and social movements is part of the new mood—not just in the labor movement, but in the Black community, among young people, and among women.

It is a situation, said Barnes, where working people are not only considering radical ideas, but are more and more willing to join protest activity.

Barnes listed the major protest actions that have occurred during just the last five months. In March, there were 8,000 demonstrating in Washington, D.C., in defense of the Wilmington Ten, while on the same day in Nashville, Tennessee, thousands protested

*Continued on page 17*



# On to 100,000 'Militants'

By Nelson Blackstock

"On to 100,000" were the words inscribed on the banner draped behind the podium at the front of the hall.

One of the most exciting topics discussed at the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference were plans for circulation of the socialist press this fall. Between September 1 and December 15, members of the Socialist Workers Party aim to sell 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, the biweekly socialist Spanish-language magazine.

The *Militant* that goes on sale September 23 will get the drive rolling in a big way. Socialists plan an all-out push for this issue—to sell many more than on normal weeks in the drive.

It was during the first week of November 1928 that the *Militant* was born. The campaign to sell 100,000 will be one way to mark the *Militant's* fiftieth anniversary.

Immediately prior to the conference, a meeting of the SWP National Committee discussed and approved plans for the fall drive.

The 100,000 will include all papers sold between September 1 and December 15—both single copies and subscriptions.

Beginning the last week in September SWP branches around the country will be shooting to meet their own weekly single-copy sales quota. Each branch will also take an overall fall quota.

The branch cumulative fall quotas will consist of their weekly quota

multiplied by the twelve weeks of the drive. Another 20 percent will come from subscriptions, papers sold the first three weeks of September, and papers sold during the two big national target weeks.

Each introductory subscription will count as ten single copies sold.

A list of branch quotas will appear in next week's *Militant*.

An ambitious plan to step up the circulation of the socialist press is right in tune with the political priorities and tasks discussed by the socialists during their week-long gathering.

During the past months many more socialists have gotten jobs in industry—and many more will follow.

What they are finding there is a generation of workers marked by the social upheavals and changes of the past decade or more. They are dissatisfied with their working conditions and the general conditions of life in this capitalist society.

These workers are interested in the big political questions in the world today. They are looking for answers to these problems. Socialist answers are not ones they normally hear very often. But when they do get a chance to hear what socialists think, they listen with a great deal of interest.

A primary focus of this fall's campaign will be to reach these workers—both through worker-to-worker sales on the job and through sales at plant gates.

The conference also took note of an important political development of past months—the pattern of in-

creased protest actions on a variety of fronts: the *Bakke* case, nuclear power, the Equal Rights Amendment, police brutality, gay rights, Native American rights, South Africa, and more.

An unmistakable trend has emerged, one that will continue this fall. The socialists will be there with the *Militant* and *PM*—at marches, picket lines, rallies, meetings, film showings, concerts, and other events, big and small.

A center of a lot of this new activity has been college campuses. The first weeks of the fall—when campuses first open—will be an ideal time to introduce students to the *Militant*. Subscription teams to the big campuses outside the major cities will be an ongoing part of the drive.

*Perspectiva Mundial*, less than two years old, is written and edited for the expanding Spanish-speaking population in the United States.

Through selling *PM*, the socialists have learned more about the Spanish-speaking community and their political interests. This fall they will be taking a step forward in *PM* circulation where workers live, shop, and work. Selling to Latin American students will be another focus of *PM* sales.

Political work in the Black community is a major socialist activity, and large-scale sales in these communities will be a feature of this drive. Each Saturday, in particular, teams will be selling thousands of papers, combining this with campaigning for socialist candidates.

## Brisk campus sales

Members of the Washington, D.C., Young Socialist Alliance sold 273 copies of the *Young Socialist* during two days of college registration in late August.

In addition to taking part in the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial* campaign this fall, the YSA is having a sales drive for its own monthly newspaper, the *Young Socialist*.

The Washington YSA sold the YSs at the morning registration lines at Howard University, a Black campus, and throughout the day at the University of Maryland.

"All it takes is to go up and talk to people about what's in the paper," said Jerry Hunnicutt, Washington YSA organizer. "The YS cover featured the ERA, and most sales were to women, including a lot of Black women."

These results are an indication of the new mood among college students. They point to exciting possibilities for circulation of all the socialist press at campus registration lines and sales throughout the fall.

Door-to-door sales of both single copies and subscriptions will reach workers in their homes.

As the drive unfolds, the *Militant* will carry regular reports of our progress.

## Selling to workers on the job

During the socialist educational conference the *Militant* interviewed several socialists about their experiences selling on the job.

Scott Ware is a shipfitter at the Brooklyn Navy Yard. While circulating a petition for asylum for Héctor Marroquín, socialist workers at the shipyard have had a chance to talk to a lot of co-workers. They met many workers interested in politics, and interested in reading the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*.

Ware pointed to the wide range of political topics discussed in the

yard: South Africa, *Bakke*, the Middle East, women's rights, the failure of the Carter administration to live up to its promises. Haitian workers were particularly interested in the French elections.

John Sarge, who has been working at the Hughes Tool Plant in Houston for five and a half years, pointed to the number of workers who look to the *Militant* for information they can't get elsewhere.

Over the years a number of Hughes workers have become regular readers. Socialists at times have averaged selling up to thirty papers a week at the gates, Sarge says.

This is followed up by selling subscriptions in the plant.

Dean Elder, a member of the United Auto Workers, works at Bingham Stamping plant in Toledo, Ohio. "Working with the same people day after day, you get to know them and get into long talks," Elder says.

The sale of a single *Militant* can lead to a wide ranging discussion—"the nature of the Soviet Union, Stalinism, the need for a labor party here in the U.S. . . . our whole socialist outlook."

There are several subscribers at the plant, and a small bundle is

sold there every week. Some don't buy every week, only when there's an article that they especially want to read. When Zaïre hit the front pages, for example, a Black woman sought out Elder to find out what the *Militant* had to say about it.

A socialist working in a foundry in Salt Lake City was struck by the fact that the radicalization among the Utah workers he meets is much deeper than they themselves realize.

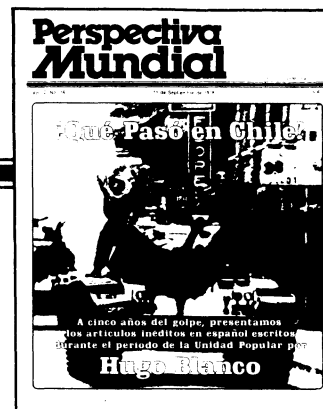
"You'll never sell any of these *Militants*, but I'll buy one," is a line he's heard more than once.



## Read and sell Perspectiva Mundial

The September 11 'Perspectiva Mundial' is a special issue on the 1973 military coup in Chile. It features thirteen articles written in Chile by Peruvian revolutionist Hugo Blanco before the coup.

Single copies, \$.50; bundles over five, \$.35 each. Subscription rates: one year, \$10.00; six months, \$5.00; six-week introductory, \$2.00. Send orders to Perspectiva Mundial, P.O. Box 314, Village Station, New York, N.Y. 10014.





# ...leading the party into industry

Continued from page 15

South African participation in the Davis Cup tennis tournament.

Then in April, 4,000 young people marched in D.C. for jobs, and a week later, 15,000 protested the *Bakke* decision. In May, thousands demonstrated in solidarity with the African revolution.

Also in May, 20,000 mobilized at the United Nations against the threat of war and nuclear destruction. Thousands more, including 20,000 in Seabrook, New Hampshire, demonstrated this spring against both military and commercial facilities.

A quarter of a million Americans participated in the annual Christopher Street gay rights activities.

## ERA march

And on July 9, in the largest women's rights action this country has ever seen, an estimated 100,000 people filled the streets of the nation's capital demanding ratification of the ERA.

"Hardly were the women out of town," Barnes noted, "when teepees were going up all over the Capitol grounds in the culmination of the Longest Walk in defense of Native American rights."

There were also countermobilizations against the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis. And communities exploded in outrage at killer cops in Brooklyn, Houston, and Plainview, Texas.

Then there were and continue to be demonstrations of sorts at personnel offices when thousands show up for a few job openings.

The farmers protested in massive "tractorcades" and rallies. United Auto Workers officials convened a conference on the shorter workweek. Teamster dissidents stepped up the fight for union democracy. Public workers across the country walked out in a wave of municipal strikes.

And, this all followed the historic coal miners' strike.

The independent struggles of Blacks, Chicanos, and women are not going to decline as ferment in the unions grows, Barnes said. These struggles of the oppressed are completely intertwined with the struggles of the entire working class.

More and more, Black, Chicano, and women workers will emerge as leaders of these independent movements. And in turn they will lead the fight to transform the unions into a social movement fighting on behalf of all the oppressed and exploited.

The events of the last five months, Barnes said, are proof that socialists can take their ideas to working people and get a favorable response that was not possible for decades.

## Strategy for left wing

For two days before the educational conference, the SWP's national committee met. Reporting for the party's Political Committee, Joel Britton outlined the strategy of building a class-struggle left wing in the labor movement.

We can point to an earlier example of such a development, he said, "The leadership and most conscious, combative ranks of the Minneapolis and Midwest Teamsters, in the 1930s."

They "took on the employers and their agents with class-struggle methods."

"They rejected the course of collaborating with the employers or their political agents under the false premise that that was the way to consolidate the gains of the union resurgence. They put defense of workers first and were ready, willing, and able to carry

out that defense by any means necessary.

"They mobilized the power of the workers in militant strike actions that included demonstrations and rallies of thousands of working people, confrontations with the forces of capitalist law and order trying to deny the workers their rights, and independent labor political action at the polls."

With their clear understanding that workers need allies, Britton said, the Teamsters won support from farmers, women, and students. They helped organize the battles of the unemployed and the federal employees on the public works projects.

This program "was carried out by an aroused rank and file led by the Trotskyists and other class-struggle fighters who were democratically elected to lead the union."

Britton suggested that to put real life into the concept of a class-struggle left

sampling of the strength union democracy can give to unions.

This common sense goal—that members of a union should take the reins of the organization and use that power to defend their interests—is at work in other unions.

One of the most important developments discussed at the conference is the drive within the United Steelworkers to win the right to ratify contracts—"one steelworker, one vote," as steel unionists present put it.

In his presentation on "Ferment in Steel," steelworker Andrew Pulley declared, "We don't have the right to tell our agents, our union leaders, our union misleaders, our union Toms, where to get off when they come before us with a lousy deal."

"Regardless of the outcome of the fight for membership ratification at the international convention in September," Pulley said, "the struggle for

ernment is in the hands of the employers. That's why a key part of any perspective of transforming the unions must be to urge the labor movement itself to form its own political party.

Socialists must make clear in explaining this perspective that the labor movement should not be confused with the current misleadership of that movement. What is needed is a labor party based on a fighting, democratic union movement. And the way to get that kind of party is to struggle for that kind of movement.

Such an independent labor party would be a party of workers, not of the bureaucracy, said Barnes. It would be a popular party, seen by workers as their own party.

It would have clubs in the Black and Chicano communities.

And more than anything else, such a party would tell the truth about what is happening in the country and around the world, and offer a perspective for taking the government out of the hands of the bosses and putting it into the hands of the working-class majority.

## Talking socialism on the job

A sign of the times, socialists reported over and over again, is the ease with which SWP members can talk about socialist ideas on the job.

In Michigan, a woman auto worker is running on the SWP ticket for governor. In Pennsylvania and Texas, the socialist gubernatorial candidates are steelworkers. In Illinois, it's a railworker for attorney general.

Without fail, these and other socialist election campaigns have sparked discussion at workplaces and for a lot of unionists have posed the question: Why not a worker for governor?

With the co-workers, Pulley said in his speech to the conference, you can talk about inflation, unemployment, union democracy, socialism and democracy, quotas and affirmative action, and the Socialist Workers Party's lawsuit against the FBI.

"You're more likely to be limited by the level of noise on the job than the level of political consciousness of the workers," he commented.

In the union-fraction meetings at the conference, socialists described how selling the *Militant* is one of the most important political activities they carry out on the job. Auto workers in Detroit sell fifty *Militants* a week to co-workers. Rail workers in Chicago have thus far sold fifty copies of the pamphlet reprinted from the *Militant*, *The 110-day coal strike: its lessons for all working people*.

Activists told stories of how sales of the *Militants* and literature in the steel mills, plants, factories and on the railroads had led socialists to some of the most militant and active unionists, or had even brought these unionists to them.

## 'We need this party'

"Meeting and discussing together here," said Pulley, "helps all of us to better understand the necessity of the party. We need this kind of party to knock down the rulers who constantly threaten the annihilation of humanity either through nuclear destruction or through environmental destruction."

"We know that changing this society into a more humane society, to a socialist order free of all the violence and misery and oppression of capitalism, will come about only when a revolutionary party has been built that leads the masses of workers in action."

"This will occur only when the Socialist Workers Party wins the allegiance of masses of workers in a struggle to transform the unions into revolutionary, fighting instruments."



Militant/Nancy Cole

'As far as the employers were concerned, the miners had too much democracy.'

wing today, socialists and other union militants need to look toward three goals.

First is the fight for union democracy.

Second is union solidarity—encompassing not only support to strikes, but efforts to overcome the racial, sex, and other divisions in the working class fostered by the bosses.

And third is the necessity for the union movement to break from the capitalist parties and move onto the road of independent labor political action.

## Union democracy

Today the fight for the class-struggle left wing in the labor movement centers around the fight for trade-union democracy, Barnes told socialists here. In the case of the miners, their problem—according to the bosses—was that they had "too much democracy."

"As far as the employers were concerned, the miners had too much say over closing down unsafe mines. They had too many rights concerning the contract, which gave them too much power to overturn what their leaders decided to try to force down their throats. They even had the right to see their contract before they had to vote on it," said Barnes.

The miners' strike was a powerful

union democracy—and specifically for the right to ratify the contract—will continue in some form until it's won."

## Solidarity

The second component of a class-struggle left wing is solidarity, or thinking socially. This means, explained Britton, identifying with other workers' struggles and organizing support for them. It means seeing the fight for equality by Blacks, Latinos, and women as labor's fight. It means siding with workers around the world in their struggles.

Solidarity actions during the coal strike, union actions against *Bakke* and for the ERA, and the growing labor involvement in support for the fight against South African apartheid are all illustrations of union solidarity.

To act politically—the third aspect of the class-struggle left wing—the union movement must first and foremost break with the parties of the bosses—the Democratic and Republican parties.

Through the Democrats and Republicans, Barnes explained in his speech, the employers control the government and the laws, they hire the judges and handpick the people who interpret and enforce the laws.

The labor movement and the entire working class fight with their hands tied behind their backs when the gov-



# Summing up: the tasks

By Nancy Cole

OBERLIN, Ohio—Having gone through a week of sharing ideas and discussing political opportunities, there remained the job of summing it all up.

That task fell to SWP National Committee member Betsey Stone in a final presentation at the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference here.

Capitalism is in crisis, Stone said, beginning her talk, "The Socialist Workers Party Today and Tomorrow."

The radicalizing effect this crisis has had on the working class, she said, "means that we are going into a new stage of building the party. The kinds of struggles we will be involved in will take new forms."

The SWP will be more involved with union battles, she said, such as the miners' strike last winter. "We will continue to build up the steel fraction, the auto fraction, the rail fraction—and we're beginning to put together a national fraction in the Teamsters union," Stone said.

"We also want to give special attention to the coal miners' fraction, because it is in the miners' union that there is the largest number of workers looking for an alternative leadership and a fighting, class-struggle orientation for their union."

In addition, Stone said, socialists will be concentrating their forces in other unions, depending on the importance of particular industries in local areas—unions such as electrical workers, machinists, and oil, chemical, and atomic workers.

## Sharing experiences

"One thing our union fraction meetings are beginning to reflect is the potential strength and effectiveness of well-organized national fractions of socialists."

"You get the experience of different cities, different areas, different locals and districts, as well as experience from different layers of workers—skilled and unskilled, Black, white, Chicano, men and women, young and not so young."

Stone pointed to some of the common activities that socialists are carrying out in all their unions. First is getting socialist ideas out on the job.

Second is the fight against discrimination and for equal rights. For women workers in unions, Stone

said, the Equal Rights Amendment has special meaning because equal rights on the job is what they're fighting for. The related struggles to maintain and expand affirmative-action plans will increasingly be a focus of socialists' activity in the unions.

Third is the movement to put control of the unions back in the hands of the ranks through union democracy. Right now the central campaign aimed in this direction is the drive in the United Steelworkers for the right of the rank and file to ratify contracts.

The series of protest actions this

- the fight to free the Wilmington Ten;
- the campaign to win political asylum for SWP member Héctor Marroquín;
- the effort to protect affirmative-action gains, and;
- the campaign to get out socialist ideas through sales of the *Militant* and *Perspectiva Mundial*, through socialist election campaigns, and other activities such as forums and classes.

A northeastern U.S. coalition of campus committees has called a conference on South Africa for New York City November 17-19. The

potential for mobilizing pro-ERA forces.

On October 6, the national NOW conference will convene in Washington, D.C. That will be "in and of itself a kind of demonstration for the Equal Rights Amendment," said Stone. Socialists will be helping to build the conference.

"We and others in NOW are raising the idea that what the fight for the ERA needs most is another big demonstration like July 9."

The sentiment among the American people against nuclear power and nuclear weapons is strong, Stone continued. "People are scared the earth itself may be destroyed."

The SWP and YSA welcome this important movement and are beginning to get involved in it, Stone said. We plan to participate in and help build the national and local actions and conferences that are projected in the coming months.

In support of affirmative action, Stone said, one of the major tasks is education—to let people know that the Bakke ruling threatens to wipe out past gains, and that new challenges, such as the Brian Weber case in the steel union, need to be fought.

## Selling the 'Militant'

The main way to draw all these issues together is through sales of the *Militant* and socialist election campaigning. The drive this fall to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the *Militant* by selling 100,000 copies of the *Militant* and the Spanish-language biweekly, *Perspectiva Mundial*, will be at the heart of the activities of every SWP branch.

"We couldn't possibly have 100,000 discussions with people that would be as enlightening as what people will find in the *Militant*," Stone concluded.

All the tasks socialists carry out today are preparing for bigger battles to come. In country after country, Stone noted, workers upsurges have taken place. But there were no revolutionary parties to organize the fight against the capitalist class. That party has to be built—prepared—ahead of time.

"We cannot predict how fast these struggles will develop, or the ups and downs that will occur," she said.

"We must be prepared for whatever comes, for however long it takes, and do everything we can to take advantage of every opportunity to build the party."



BETSEY STONE: "Tasks socialists carry out today are preparing for bigger battles to come."

spring around the ERA, nuclear power and weapons, gay rights, the Wilmington Ten, and South Africa did not originate in the unions, Stone explained. But at most of these actions there were significant union contingents or union speakers.

## National campaigns

"The SWP wants to be active in the fight around all these issues," Stone said. She described the main national campaigns SWP branches would be involved with in upcoming months. These are:

- solidarity with the struggle in southern Africa;
- the drive to win ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment;
- the struggle against nuclear power and nuclear weapons;

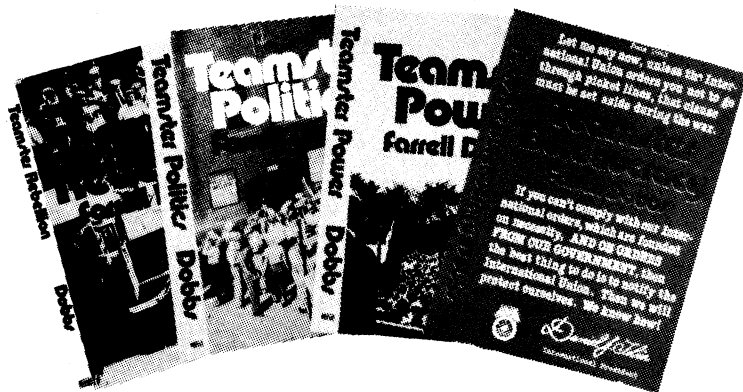
Young Socialist Alliance, which has been active in these committees, and the SWP will do everything possible to help build this conference.

Such a conference, Stone said, will be of interest not only to students but to workers as well, especially Black workers.

In addition, the tour of Black South African trade unionist Drake Koka will offer an opportunity to educate workers and students alike around the issues of the antiapartheid movement.

## Fight for ERA

"The battle to win the ERA is the central focus of the women's rights struggle right now," Stone told socialists here. The success of the July 9 ERA march on Washington sponsored by the National Organization for Women showed the tremendous



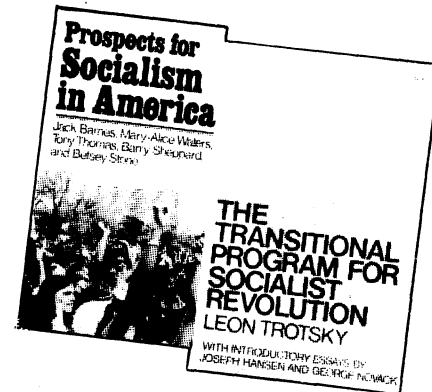
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# ...confidence and optimism in the air

Continued from page 15

even shop around a bit by switching in midstream.

An overflow crowd showed up for a class on "What is 'Eurocommunism'?"

## Classes on farmers

There was an even larger turnout for the two-class series on "Farmers in the United States: Allies of the Working Class." The interest in these classes was sparked by the nationwide farmers' strike last fall and winter and the active solidarity shown by these farmers with striking coal miners.

A show of hands at the class indicated that nearly half those attending

*The September 'International Socialist Review' supplement has been delayed until next week. It will reprint two talks from the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference—'Building an International Party of Workers' by Jack Barnes and 'Ferment in Steel: Prospects for the American Working Class' by Andrew Pulley.*

had working farmers in their immediate family. After both presentations, a lively discussion took place, as participants grappled with the question of how to build a fighting alliance between urban workers and working farmers—an alliance that everyone at the classes came to see as crucial for the American socialist revolution.

Just how crucial became a little clearer when the speaker at the first class explained—to the surprise of just about everyone in the packed lecture hall—that working farmers, not corporate agriculture, still produce about 60 percent of the food we eat.

Five class sessions on the African revolution attracted hundreds of people each day. There was a spirited discussion, both during the classes and informally throughout the week, on the role of Cuban troops in countering Washington's plans to preserve imperialist domination over that continent.

There were classes on Blacks and the labor movement, independent Black political action, the theory and practice of Pan-Africanism, and Lenin's writings on national self-determination and the need for a multinational revolutionary party.

Two classes traced the history of Chicanos in the union movement. Two others on Chicanos and the fight for independent labor political action drew together many strands of the development of the Chicano movement over the past fifteen years and the role of the Raza Unida parties in that history. The classes also explored the current problems and challenges facing the RUPs in Texas and throughout the Southwest.

Two classes on nuclear power and nuclear weapons placed the growing antinuke movement in the context of the overall fight against environmental destruction, industrial hazards, and for safety on the job. The classes went back to Marx and Engels to explain the contradictory character of advanced technology so long as it remains at the service of capitalist exploiters.

Classes on the fundamentals of Marxist economic theory, the crisis of American capitalism, and the roots of "stagflation" drew scores of industrial workers. They were eager to learn more about how to explain to their co-workers why prices and taxes are skyrocketing, why their unions are under such intense attack, and why high jobless rates have become a permanent scourge.

At the four-class series on "Literature and Revolution," an exchange of views took place on Trotsky's attitude toward the role of artists in the revolutionary movement. Artists and musicians who are members and friends of

the SWP also got together for a workshop to share common experiences and problems and to discuss their contributions, first and foremost as artists, to the socialist movement.

Other classes discussed the origins of women's oppression, many topics in the history and strategy of the labor movement, the socialist movement and the early struggle for homosexual rights, the labor party, and much more.

Participants demonstrated their determination to continue studying by buying a record number of books from Pathfinder Press—\$20,200 worth in all. This included 577 copies of *Out Now*, Fred Halstead's account of the anti-Vietnam War movement, all the avail-

able copies of Ernest Mandel's new book, *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism*; and 624 copies of Joseph Hansen's *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*.

There were steelworkers, auto workers, teamsters, rail workers, miners—along with workers in ten other industries or industrial unions, as well as teachers and public employees.

## Discussion on the job

These socialist workers reported on the ferment and political discussions they encountered on the job day in, day out. Workers are angry about the

of the labor movement. And in some unions, workers are doing something about it—as in the steel union, where workers are going to their convention this fall to demand the elementary right to vote on whether or not to accept the contract they're going to have to live and work under.

In the meeting of electrical workers, one participant pointed to the close links in San Antonio, Texas, between the Chicano movement and the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) in that city. More than 90 percent of the IUE members are Chicanos, including most of the local leaders.

If you go to meetings of the Chicano movement there, you run into IUE leaders and union activists. The union has links to the Raza Unida Party.

During the strike by electrical workers last year, there were support demonstrations and rallies in the Chicano neighborhoods. And the IUE was one of the only San Antonio unions to support the largely Chicano-led strike of sanitation workers in San Antonio this summer—while the rest of the labor officialdom joined with city officials in trying to smash the strike.

The IUE also built support for striking coal miners last winter and sent people to the July 9 march for the Equal Rights Amendment.

There was a great deal of discussion about July 9 in all the various meetings of unionists, because more and more women are getting industrial jobs today, and they are winning support for their demands among their co-workers and from their unions.

At the conference, a group of women from around the country who are in the rail industry—where there are very few women working yard jobs—got together informally to discuss problems with their employers, foremen, and with sexist attitudes among their co-workers.

## You name it

And it isn't just the ERA that's being discussed on the job. Or just so-called bread-and-butter issues.

There's discussion about South Africa, nuclear power, abortion rights, Malcolm X, Carter's human rights campaign. . . you name it, you'll hear about it in the mines, mills, and factories of this country.

The socialists reported on the wide-ranging political discussions they have on the job, in lunchrooms, and in locker rooms.

They talked about the different ways they sell and circulate the *Militant* and SWP campaign literature on the job—and how that sparks discussions and attracts workers to the socialist movement.

They talked about getting union endorsement for protests around many important social issues, or—short of that—their experiences in raising these issues at union meetings and bringing individual co-workers to participate.

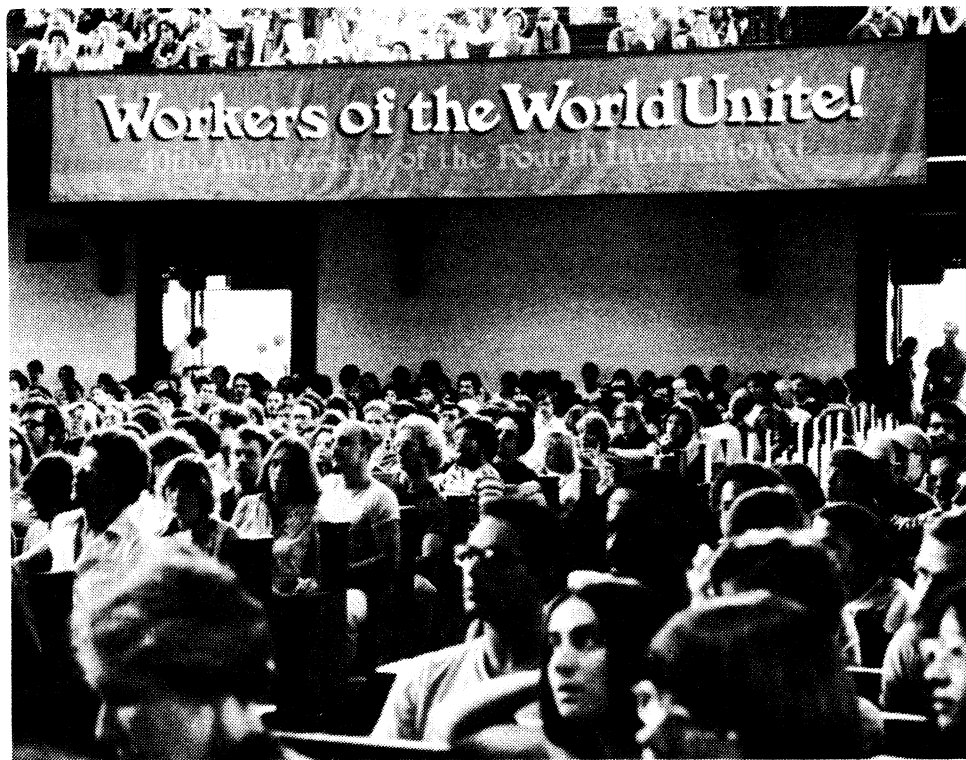
They talked about bringing people they work with to Militant Forums and SWP campaign functions. . . and to the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference, too.

Some said they had experimented with various methods of getting discussions going. They put a sticker on their hardhat. Or wore a political button, where their work situation permitted. Or wore a T-shirt with a political slogan.

All in all, it was clear that these socialist industrial workers were getting valuable experience and learning something new almost every day.

These meetings of socialists in the unions confirmed the SWP's estimation that the American industrial working class is the central arena for revolutionary politics today. That the socialist movement has to be there and is making great strides toward the goal of getting the big majority of its

*Continued on next page*



Militant/Anne Teesdale



Militant/Lou Howort

Conference participants came from twenty-seven states and forty-three cities

able copies of Ernest Mandel's new book, *From Stalinism to Eurocommunism*; and 624 copies of Joseph Hansen's *Dynamics of the Cuban Revolution*.

So many of the last-mentioned books were being read during the week that Oberlin townspeople began asking conference participants, "What's that bright yellow book that everyone's carrying around?"

As the name of the gathering indi-

escalating attacks on their living standards, their job security, their working conditions, their health and pension benefits, and their unions.

The work force is younger today, and these workers are beginning to ask how they can use the power of their unions to defend themselves from growing attacks.

They want to take their unions back from the conservative bureaucrats and business agents who sit on the power



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*Continued from preceding page*  
members to do just that.

Unionists and other socialist activists in the SWP and YSA also attended workshops on affirmative action, the antinuclear movement, socialist election campaigns, financing the revolutionary movement, selling the *Militant* and *Young Socialist*, activity in defense of Eastern European and Soviet dissidents—to name just a few of the more than thirty such meetings.

\* \* \*

Socialists from many countries attended the conference. They came from Australia, Puerto Rico, Colombia, Israel, New Zealand, Britain, the Dominican Republic, Brazil, Switzerland, Belgium, France, Sweden, Canada, Mexico, and Iran.

Most of these revolutionists from around the world are organized into a worldwide Trotskyist organization, the Fourth International. The SWP, which is in full political solidarity with the Fourth International, is barred from affiliation by reactionary U.S. legislation.

## International struggles

Classes at the conference, some given by these international guests, provided valuable information about the class struggle in Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Africa, and the Mideast.

Two classes on the recent upsurge in Iran were given by Iranian Trotskyists currently living in Europe and the United States. Both women reported on the growing ferment for democratic rights in their country.

Also attending the conference were many supporters of *Payam Daneshjoo*, a Persian-language magazine put out in this country by opponents of the shah's repressive regime and widely circulated among Iranian students and other Iranian dissidents in the United States. Supporters of the magazine said that according to reports inside Iran, *Payam Daneshjoo* is now being read with great interest by radical students in that country.

Workshops were held at the conference on the YSA and SWP's activity in defense of political prisoners in Iran, the Mideast, Latin America, and Eastern Europe and the USSR.

There was a large contingent of Mexican revolutionists at the conference, as well. Members of the Revolutionary Workers Party [PRT—Mexican section of the Fourth International] are engaged in important common activity with the YSA and SWP. For example, socialists in both countries are waging a campaign in defense of the right of Héctor Marroquín to political asylum in the United States. They are fighting attempts to deport Marroquín back to his native Mexico, where he faces a political frame-up and the possibility of torture and death at the hands of Mexican authorities.

Revolutionists in both countries are involved in defending the rights of Mexicans forced by poverty and unemployment to flee across the Mexican border to the United States in hopes of finding a livelihood. A PRT leader gave a class at the conference on the political situation in that country today.

Socorro Ramírez, presidential candidate last spring of a workers slate initiated by the Colombian Socialist Workers Party, received a standing ovation from conference participants when she presented greetings at one of the main morning sessions. She also gave a class on recent developments in the Colombian class struggle.

## Report from Peru

Two members of the SWP—Fred Murphy and Gus Horowitz—came to the conference direct from two and a half weeks in Peru. There they were part of the enormous crowd that turned out to welcome exiled revolutionist Hugo Blanco's return to that country. Blanco had returned to take his seat in the newly elected Constituent Assembly and to begin the process of building a revolutionary party in Peru that can mobilize the workers and peasants to expel imperialism and take power out of the hands of the generals and capitalist politicians.

Murphy gave a class on the background to the current wave of strikes and demonstrations challenging the military junta in Peru. And Horowitz presented a slide show at an evening session of the entire conference chronicling Blanco's return, the demonstration Blanco led from the airport into the center of Lima, and Blanco's inspiring speech at a rally of 5,000 in a downtown plaza.

Horowitz played a tape of the crowd chanting "¡Hugo Blanco en Peru!" along with a short portion of the speech in which Blanco told the crowd that the seats in the Assembly won by the workers deputies "will have no justification unless we use them to advance the struggles the workers are carrying out."

\* \* \*

A number of the foreign guests at the conference were particularly interested in the discussion about affirmative action and the Bakke decision. In most other countries, the bosses have effectively prevented the concept of affirmative action from taking hold. And it is almost unheard of to find women in the mines, rail yards, or heavy industry.

\* \* \*

At the same evening session where the Peru slide show was presented, leaders of the SWP gave reports on party finances and plans for expansion of the party's book publication projects, collaboration with revolutionists around the world, and other aspects of party work.

## New SWP branches

This included the announcement of plans to establish branches of the SWP in three new industrial areas of the country. First is on the Mesabi Iron Range in Minnesota, where an SWP organizing committee has been laying the groundwork for several months.

The other two cities are both big centers of the steel industry: Gary, Indiana; and Birmingham, Alabama, which is also a rail and coal mining center and a major battleground of the

Black rights movement.

Delegations or individual members from several other U.S. socialist groups attended the conference. The YSA and SWP hope to collaborate more with these organizations and find areas of common activity. They are the International Socialists, International Socialist Organization, Socialist Labor Party, Sojourner Truth Organization, and the New York-based Unemployed and Welfare Rights Council.

\* \* \*

Despite the week's jam-packed schedule of education and political discussion, time was set aside every afternoon and evening for recreation and entertainment. There was swimming, sports, parties, and games.

## Films, concerts, skits

Each night there was a movie: Charlie Chaplin's classic *Modern Times*; the new Cuban film, *The Last Supper*; and the African film *Ceddo*; films on gay liberation, women unionists, nuclear power, and the life of Eugene Debs; and *State of Siege*.

A benefit jazz concert for Héctor Marroquín featured a jazz ensemble led by Brazilian composer and guitarist Thiago de Mello. The ensemble included performers on the piano, bass, trumpet, saxophone, flute, drums, as well as a number of Brazilian folk instruments. (See review on page 22).

Exiled Iranian poet Reza Baraheni gave a reading one evening, accompanied by the music of Thiago de Mello.

And there was a classical concert, too—an evening of arias, piano, organ, flute, and an inspiring rendition of the Black national anthem, "Lift Every Voice and Sing."

On the last two nights of the conference, a troupe of conference participants performed a skit satirizing the racist concept of "reverse discrimination." The skit, written and directed by Rich Robohm, was entitled: "Saturday Night Griever—or the Bakke Horror Picture Show."

\* \* \*

People who were attending their first national SWP gathering weren't left to flounder and fend for themselves. Conference organizers planned special events to help them get the most out of the eight days of talks and classes.

A reception was planned for them the first evening, and informal discussion sessions focusing on the major morning presentations were held during the dinner break every evening.

Evidently a lot of people liked what they saw and heard. A good number who came as friends of the SWP left as members.



Leaders of Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance gave special talks each day. From left to right: Jack Barnes, Andrew Pulley, Mary-Alice Waters, John Hawkins, Cathy Sedwick.



## Despite Rockefeller's attacks

# West Virginia public workers organize

CHARLESTON, W. Va.—Public employees here have launched an organizing drive to win collective bargaining rights for the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME).

The drive has been publicly under way since June, when 300 state workers rallied on the capitol steps to express their anger over antilabor attacks by Democratic Gov. John D. Rockefeller IV.

Rally speakers criticized Rockefeller for backing out of prolabor promises he made during his campaign against former union-busting Republican Gov. Arch Moore.

Earlier in the month Rockefeller's executive assistant, Thomas Goodwin, told the *Charleston Gazette*

that the governor was now opposed to public employees unionizing. "There is no provision in state law for employees to organize, and if they organize to strike, it's against the law," Goodwin said.

Rockefeller's turnabout has angered other West Virginia unions. Leaders of District 17 of the United Mine Workers of America indicate they will support the AFSCME drive. Ermalee Boice, president of the West Virginia Education Association told the rally, "WVEA intends to make public-employee collective bargaining its number-one priority."

This mood was encouraged by the recent miners' strike, highway construction worker Bill Phillips explained at the rally. "The coal min-

ers taught us that you can beat Rockefeller, Carter, and the big corporations," he said.

Other workers are supporting the union drive as a way to counter government cutbacks in social services. One vocational rehabilitation worker said, "It's bad enough that the coal and chemical companies have injured and crippled thousands in West Virginia. But now they want to reduce services to their victims."

Business committees to crush union efforts have been established. Big-business newspapers have fired a barrage of antilabor editorials. A local version of the National Right to Work Committee has also joined in the attack.

There are other ominous signs.

Opponents of the Equal Rights Amendment and fundamentalist religious forces have told their followers among state employees to sabotage the AFSCME organizing drive. Racists have also scrawled anti-Black and anti-Semitic epithets on the walls of state buildings.

And the AFSCME organizing committee also faces competition from bogus "employee associations" set up by some state supervisory personnel.

So far, however, state employees have not been deterred by these tactics. More than 1,000 workers in Charleston have signed cards designating AFSCME as a collective bargaining agent. Efforts are also under way in Beckley, Fairmont, and Huntington.

## ...Missouri unions hit 'right to work' fraud

*Continued from back page*

"The SWP believes that everyone has the right to a job," Pritchard said. "A job that will provide a decent standard of living at union wages! That's what the employer-backed 'right to work' drive is aimed at preventing."

Levitt pointed out that the corporations aren't only out to weaken the unions. "They're out to destroy unions if they can get away with it. Look at the recent coal miners' strike. The coal companies demanded drastic 'give-backs,' which nearly amounted to the miners 'giving back' their right to a union."

"Fortunately, the miners rallied to defend their union and turned down the first two contract proposals."

Both candidates stressed that even though right-wing outfits make up the Right to Work Committee, this RTW drive is no small-scale project of just the far right. It is part and parcel of the big-business offensive to drive down the living standards of all working people.

As far as actual membership in the Right to Work Committee goes, the National Association of Manufacturers is the biggest contributor. Others include McDonald's Restaurants and the Adolph Coors Brewing Company—two outspoken opponents of labor unions.

At the beginning of its petition drive to put the initiative on the November ballot, the Missouri Freedom to Work Committee had \$4.5 million. They conducted a massive advertising campaign to promote the open shop.

### Gateway to East

"So-called right-to-work laws have been a southern phenomenon for years," said Levitt. "The first open-shop law was instituted in Florida in 1943. Nineteen other states adopted it after the antilabor Taft-Hartley Act passed in 1947. The most recent state to pass such legislation was Louisiana in 1976."

"But with Missouri, the employers are aiming at a gateway to the unionized East. Not only would a 'right to work' law here weaken the unions in the East, it would make it almost impossible to organize the unorganized."

"You can be sure the RTW forces were encouraged by the defeat of the Hussmann Refrigeration strike in St. Louis last year," added Pritchard.

"Hussmann—owned by Pet, Inc.—crushed United Steelworkers Local 13889 in a contract dispute. With the help of court injunctions and the open hiring of scabs, close to 1,500 steelworkers lost their jobs during that strike."

"The bosses hope that with RTW laws they can escalate such union busting."

The United Labor Committee, explained the candidates, has organized an advertising campaign to reach the public. In February, it brought 3-5,000 unionists to a public hearing at the capitol in Jefferson City to display opposition to the open shop.

A major threat has been voter registration drives to ensure union members and their families will be eligible to vote against the ballot measure.

"The vast majority of union members are outraged by RTW," said Pritchard. "They've made this visible by displaying bumper stickers on their cars reading, 'Right to Work is a Rip-off.'"

"Right to Truth Committees are being formed in local unions to spread the truth about RTW. Union members and retirees have volunteered to pass out handbills at shopping centers."

"Unions are the only organizations that working people have to fight back against the employers, and many

workers here want to do something to defend their unions."

### Educational campaign

Levitt, who is a member of United Steelworkers Local 3844, believes a big educational campaign is necessary to convince the public to vote against RTW. "We need a massive distribution of leaflets to explain why people should vote against RTW. We need to reach nonunion workers, Black workers, women workers, and farmers. Our goal should be to make every union member an active organizer against RTW."

One of the best ways to explain the issues involved and show the support unions have, agreed both Pritchard and Levitt, is by organizing rallies and demonstrations such as those planned around Labor Day.

"This is a big test for the union movement, and it will take an all-out effort by labor to defeat RTW," said Levitt.

"But even that won't end the antilabor offensive. We need to strengthen our unions to take on these attacks. And one of the ways to do that is by organizing the unorganized, which in Missouri is 69 percent of the work force."

"At the heart of this issue is labor solidarity," Pritchard explained. "The

employers try to undercut solidarity and further divide the working class by pitting nonunion workers against union workers, unemployed against employed. That's the real thrust of the 'right to work' laws."

"We say that unions must strive to overcome these divisions and others—between Black and white workers, between male and female workers—if the unions are to be strong enough to effectively fight back."


"The RTW is a problem, a political problem," said Levitt. "So-called friends of labor have controlled Congress most of the time since 1947. Yet they have never repealed the 'slave labor' Taft-Hartley Act, the law that made these RTW abominations possible to begin with."

### Labor party

"As long as we're talking about a political fight to defeat RTW, why shouldn't we take it a step further?" said Levitt. "Why shouldn't we be running our own candidates for political office?"

"Independent labor candidates—or a labor party based on a fighting union movement—wouldn't put up with Taft-Hartley for more than thirty years. A labor party with the support of millions of working people would soon wipe 'right to work' laws off the books."

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## THIAGO: 'taking his place in time'

A Benefit Concert for Héctor Marroquín. Presented by Thiago de Mello on behalf of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee at the Active Workers and Socialist Educational Conference, Oberlin, Ohio, August 9.

The benefit concert was about to begin. Host Barry Fatland, chairperson of the Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, explained to the audience that Héctor had requested political asylum in the United States.

Marroquín had fled his native Mexico after he was falsely accused of "terrorist" crimes and marked for "unofficial" torture and execution at the hands of government cops.

### Music

He came to this country, became active in a Teamster organizing drive, and in defense activities on behalf of other undocumented workers. And he joined the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

In a side room, seven musicians waited to go on stage. Thiago de Mello, The self-exiled Brazilian composer, singer, guitarist, percussionist, and the septet's leader, gave last-minute instructions.

Flautist Carol Sudhalter arrived from New York City just that evening—too late for rehearsals. She plays with a seventeen-member all-female band.

Richard Lesnik, the tenor sax man,

arrived that dawn from San Diego.

The musicians had rehearsed together for the first time only that afternoon. Thiago's regular band members were not all able to make it to Ohio. But if he was nervous, it was not apparent. He had played the name clubs in New York. The Village Vanguard. The Village Gate. Even Carnegie Hall.

On stage, Fatland was winding up his greetings. Everyone's help was needed to stop Washington from deporting Marroquín back to Mexico . . . where he faced torture or death.

Then Thiago was introduced. He came on stage alone and played a short, pretty piece on the guitar.

And then another, on a rhythmic bow-like instrument brought to Brazil in the 1500s by African slaves.

Then he introduced the rest of the group as he brought them on stage.

Bob Auld, the clean-playing nimble-fingered New York trumpeter; bassist John Wernitz from Philadelphia; pianist Aloisio Aguiar from Brazil, now living in New York; and drummer Haroldo Mauro, Jr., also from Brazil via New York.

The audience, sitting in the pews of a high-ceilinged chapel, numbered about 800.

Thiago sat too, his foot propped up on two books, his guitar on his knee, jesting playfully with the crowd.

The next number, he said, is called "The President." "It's about the president of a soccer club, who in my country is an important figure, politically and economically. This president refused to allow elections so that his



THIAGO DE MELLO

own club members could not vote him out of office."

The tune swung, laying out a rich Latin/Black rhythm. Audience support was instantaneous. The musicians felt it. No solo went unapplauded. It was going to be one of those evenings when one solo was finer than the next.

Sudhalter swayed, bending into the music, and played liquid arabesques on the flute, fast and fluid.

Bob Auld's beautiful trumpet was

driven on and up by Mauro skillfully putting out the time on the high-hat symbol.

Wernitz's sometimes-bowed bass gave color and dimension to the piece.

Aguiar got in some good licks on the piano. His inventive, light-fingered work was reminiscent of McCoy Tyner playing in Coltrane's famous early sixties rhythm section.

Lesnik, on a very mellow tenor, took the melody, improvised on it, repeated it, and then improvised some more—holding long notes, to the delight of the audience.

Thiago sometimes put down his guitar to play a variety of Afro-Brazilian rhythmic instruments.

This concert, he said earlier, was for all the Marroquíns in the world.

He had written all the songs played that night, uniquely blending music and politics.

Thiago described as "Brazilian funk" a piece called "Take Your Place in Time, Comrade."

The audience loved a number called "More than Midnight"—a piece with four or five mood changes.

The crowd seemed to feel that this concert went by too quickly. It called the artists back on stage for an encore . . . and finally a standing ovation.

—Mike Smith

## You can help free Hector Marroquín



To find out how, just fill in the coupon below and mail it to: **Héctor Marroquín Defense Committee, 853 Broadway, Suite 414, New York, New York 10003.**

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## A Reader's Notes

Last year a man who worked for the Polish censorship left Poland for Sweden and took with him a copy of the official but secret "Book of Indexes and Guidelines," which tells censors what can and cannot be discussed in the press, radio, and television.

A copy of the book has been published in London by a Polish emigré group. A brilliant review by Jan Kott is in the *New York Review of Books* (August 17).

Stalinist censorship has made big strides since Stalin's time. Even in the 1930s, during the Moscow trials, it was possible to learn much more about conditions in the Soviet Union from its censored press than it is today to find out facts about Poland and other countries under Moscow domination.

\* \* \*

Lynda Ann Ewen, author of *Corporate Power and Urban Crisis in Detroit* (Princeton University Press, 1978, 312 pp., \$17.50), is a young associate professor of sociology and an adherent of one of the Maoist sects in Detroit. Both the author and the publisher consider her book to be a "Marxist-Leninist" analysis. But, as Marx and Lenin spent much time in showing, not all labels are accurate.

On the positive side, the book presents historical and contemporary material on the ruling class in the Detroit area, how it maintains its dominance, and how its decisions determine the conditions and

fate of all the inhabitants; and on the working class, the minorities, and the United Auto Workers. Long and assiduous research has resulted in numerous charts, maps, and tables supporting the text, and there are many useful quotations from Marx to introduce or summarize points being made.

But the book is quite weak politically. In the long chapter on "Ideological Dominance," which examines the way the capitalist rulers use the mass media, schools, churches, and cultural and other institutions to promote the ideologies of capitalism, there is nothing about the Democratic Party and the two-party system, which surely are among the most effective instruments of capitalist ideology and which have a long and particularly educational history in Detroit.

In the chapter on the UAW, the union bureaucracy's policy of keeping the workers tied to the Democratic Party gets only a few lines, most of them gentle: this policy is not effective, the author says. (This mildness could result from the fact that her cothinkers in Detroit believe that "Marxist-Leninists" should belong to the Democratic Party and run for office on its ticket.) The only alternative offered to union submergence in the Democratic Party is a brief reference to a "party of a new type" (meaning a Leninist party), to which the author appends a footnote recommending the writings on the theory of such a party by Stalin—the destroyer of Lenin's party.

The book includes a confusing analysis of the national question, particularly as it applies to Blacks, the major point of which is emphasis on class struggle, narrowly conceived, as against national or racial struggle. The author's meaning comes through more clearly when she gets away from her abstractions to characterize busing against school segregation as "a controversy that seems to have been devised to pit black against white and that totally clouds the essential questions of the basic right of every child to an equal and quality education."

For the future, this book sees only one option for the ruling class—fascism. Every rightward move by the capitalists is presented as proof of "the growing trend to fascism." Even Carter's speech on the energy crisis in April 1977 is cited as evidence that "the ruling class has put the country on notice that they are quite prepared to impose fascism if they are not allowed to carry out their desired policies!" For theoretical backing, the author provides many quotations from Stalinist hacks of the 1930s, including their cover-up of the German Communist Party's sabotage of united-front action to stop the Nazis before Hitler came to power.

Cloudiness on the Democratic Party, an inability to take the side of the Black community on busing, ultraleft verbiage about fascism—these are the kinds of things that give Marxism-Leninism a bad name.

—George Breitman





## Seventh anniversary of Attica

The following guest column is by Omari Musa.

"We are men. We are not beasts, and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such . . . . What has happened here is but the sound before the fury of those who are oppressed."

These words reverberated across the world on the morning of September 9, 1971. They were spoken in unison by the more than 1,200 prisoners at the Attica Correctional Facility in New York, who were rebelling against racism and inhuman conditions prevailing in prisons everywhere.

They were spoken less than a month after San Quentin prison guards had gunned down Soledad Brother George Jackson and Jonathan Jackson.

They were spoken while racist officials in California were trying to frame up Black activists Angela Davis and Ruchell Magee.

The demands of the Attica Brothers were simple. Adequate food; the New York State minimum wage for work performed in the prison; adequate medical care, with Spanish-speaking doctors or interpreters; an end to censorship and the right to be politically

active; amnesty for the protesters; and the removal of Vincent Mancusi, Attica's warden.

On September 13, New York Gov. Nelson Rockefeller answered the demands. He ordered 1,000 state troopers, prison guards, and National Guardsmen equipped with assault rifles and tear-gas-laden helicopters to attack.

The result was 32 prisoners and 10 hostages murdered and more than 300 wounded.

Thousands of people from coast to coast protested the murder of these courageous rebels fighting for the most basic human dignity.

True to its nature, the beast that is the U.S. ruling class tried to make the victims into the criminals. Hand-picked grand juries returned forty-two indictments with 1,289 charges against sixty-two of the inmates.

Four years later one state trooper named Gregory Wildridge was indicted for recklessly discharging a shotgun, creating "a grave risk of death to another person."

Despite beatings, harassment and intimidation

the Attica Brothers—with the aid of thousands of supporters—fought the frame-ups.

They won the dismissal of charges against many of the rebels. And finally, on December 30, 1976, Gov. Hugh Carey was forced to issue a clemency proclamation for the remaining victims.

However, the New York State Board of Parole still tried to extract its pound of flesh. It denied parole to John "Dacajewiah" Hill, a Native American, on January 18, 1977.

The parole board—after rendering its "justice"—said it would not consider his case again for another two years.

Dacajewiah is the last Attica Brother still jailed. He thus joins the Wilmington Ten and hundreds of other political prisoners who sit behind bars while smiley-toothed Jimmy Carter speaks of human rights.

Supporters of civil rights must continue to demand:

*Free Dacajewiah!*

*Free the Wilmington Ten!*

*Free all political prisoners!*

## The American Way of Life

### 'He never got over the bomb'

"He never got over the bomb," was how one of Claude Robert Eatherly's relatives marked the death of the man who piloted the *Enola Gay*. It was from the belly of that B-29 that nuclear holocaust descended upon Hiroshima on August 6, 1945.

Eatherly and the rest of the ill-fated crew of the *Enola Gay* were following the orders of then-President Harry Truman. The U.S. government was determined to establish itself as the world's chief military power by any means necessary.

Eatherly—who died shortly before Hiroshima Day this year—became an immediate victim of Truman's command.

In 1946, during a nuclear bomb test, his plane was engulfed in a mushroom cloud. "For a moment, he got lost in that cloud," another relative recalled. "He said it was the most horrible moment of his life."

Eatherly became haunted by the Hiroshima detonation, wracked by horrors of what he had seen as the fireball of annihilation spread. "He said his brain was on fire. He said he could feel those people burning," his brother commented at the ex-pilot's funeral. "He never forgot the thousands of people dying in those flames."

Eatherly was discharged by the army in 1947 for "severe neurosis and guilt complex."

He fell into heavy drinking. He was unable to

sleep for nights on end. He turned to crime—forgery, burglary, and robbery. According to some, he wanted to be caught. He was committed to an asylum.

In the late 1950s, at the beginning of the "ban the bomb" movement, Eatherly spoke out against the use of atomic weapons.

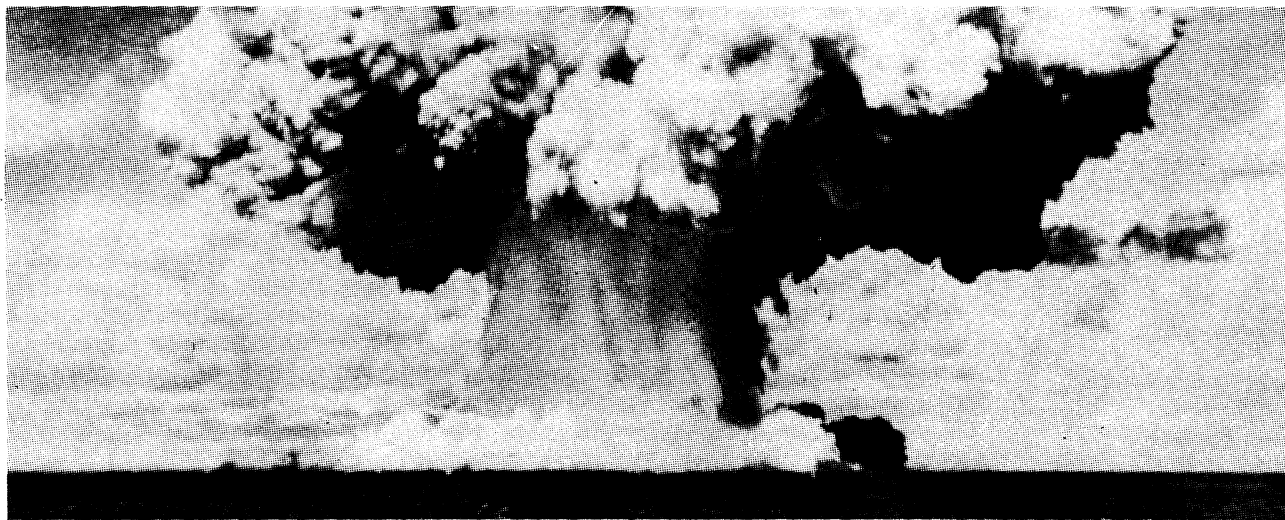
In 1962, along with three other opponents of these weapons, including musician Pablo Casals, he was given a "Hiroshima Award" at a New York ban-the-

bomb demonstration.

Eatherly died of cancer. Perhaps he was contaminated by his contact with radioactive materials. He had lost his voice because of the disease several years ago.

Eatherly's tragedy is a footnote to the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. But as such, it speaks volumes about the monstrosity of nuclear weapons—and those who use them.

—Jon Hillson



## Union Talk

### Problems of longshore pact

This week's column is by Mike Downs, a member of the executive board of Local 19, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union.

West Coast dock workers approved a new three-year contract by a two-to-one vote at the end of July. One of the coast's major locals, ILWU Local 10 in San Francisco, defeated the agreement. But a two-thirds vote of the entire coast overrides that rejection.

Earlier in the month, the longshore caucus of elected delegates from all ports on the coast met in San Francisco to discuss and vote on the proposed agreement. After seven days of debate, the caucus voted by about a two-thirds majority to accept the contract. The main opposition came from the two largest locals, Local 10 in San Francisco and Local 13 in Los Angeles.

The impact of mechanization of the longshore industry is hitting the large ports the hardest, especially in San Francisco, causing high unemployment among dock workers.

Contract section 9.43, instituted with the 1966 agreement, is also a major problem for San Francisco, Los Angeles, and Seattle workers. Section 9.43 allows the employers to bypass the union hiring hall and preferentially hire equipment operators.

The new contract does not solve these problems. It has three different programs for those three major cities, none of which eliminates the employers' "right" to preferential hiring.

The strength of the ILWU has been based on union control of dispatching jobs to its members on a rotation system. Giving the shipowners the right to pick workers for the skilled jobs has caused divisions within the union and will continue to weaken us as long as we allow it to exist.

Another bad feature of 9.43 is that it allows employers to require equipment operators to operate different types of machinery on the same shift. Traditionally, union members are required only to do the job they are dispatched to. Keeping 9.43 in the contract not only creates dissension among us,

but eliminates jobs as well.

The shipowners have made tremendous profits from automation of the longshore industry. They certainly owe dock workers a decent and secure standard of living. Instead they invest in more labor-saving devices and throw workers out of jobs.

We need to answer these attacks on our right to job security, and to do that we must look for support to the other victims of big business: unions, Black and Chicano organizations, women's groups.

California Gov. Jerry Brown, who is leading the assault on labor in that state, was invited to address the West Coast ILWU caucus in July. Despite the fact that he has proven himself an enemy of longshore workers and all working people, our international union leadership led a standing ovation for Brown.

Last April our local sent a representative to the All Unions Conference for a Shorter Workweek, initiated by the United Auto Workers. That is where we should be looking—toward united actions with other unions—to save our jobs and our union.

## Quote unquote

**"I realize I hit a sensitive nerve. I am reassured in the knowledge that a lot of people care."**

—Sen. George McGovern on the strong negative response to his proposal to invade Cambodia.

## LOUISVILLE ATTACKS ABORTION RIGHTS

Anti-abortionists scored a victory in Louisville in August with the passage of one of the most restrictive abortion laws in the country. The Jefferson County Fiscal Court, the county supervising body, passed an ordinance similar to that passed last spring in Akron, Ohio.

The law requires that a woman seeking an abortion be given literature telling her that the fiscal court believes an unborn fetus is a human being and that she should continue her pregnancy.

Notice of the abortion is to be given to the pregnant woman's husband twenty-four hours in advance. If the woman is under eighteen years old, her parents are to be notified.

Abortion clinics must be licensed by the board of health and can only perform abortions during the first three months of pregnancy. So far, no local abortion clinics have been able to get licenses.

All other abortions must be performed in hospitals. And any hospital receiving money from the local government can-

not perform an abortion.

Jessica Schickler, executive director of the Kentucky Civil Liberties Union, has said that organization plans to file suit against the new law and will ask for a court order to bar enforcement of the ordinance in the meantime.

## LEGAL ABORTION SAFE, SAYS STUDY

Several cities have passed anti-abortion laws aimed at frightening women who seek abortion. These laws require women seeking abortion to be told that they might suffer physical or psychological complications.

But a report by the National Abortion Rights Action League and the National Abortion Federation refutes that lie. The report summarizes seven scientific studies that examined the cases of 44,000 women.

The studies found in almost all cases no relation between abortion and future miscarriage, sterility, premature deliveries, birth defects, or psychological disturbances.

The mortality rate for abortion is one per 100,000. For tonsilectomies, five per 100,000.

## TEAMSTER DISSIDENTS BEGIN CONTRACT DRIVE

The Majority Contract Coalition, a group initiated by Teamsters for a Democratic Union, held its first conference in Cleveland at the end of July.

MCC's goal is to unite Teamster dissidents to fight for a decent contract when the national Master Freight Agreement expires April 1, 1979.

MCC is demanding: "an end to sweetheart deals that are made with the employers to

Migrant farm workers have struck the tomato fields in a four-county area in northwestern Ohio.

Organized by the Farm Labor Organizing Committee (FLOC), the workers, mostly Chicanos, joined the harvest-time walkout in a demand for union recognition and a living wage.

The Ohio tomato crop is second in size to California's, and supplies such major canners as Libby, Campbell, Heinz, Hunt, and Stokely-Van Camp.

Mass picketing at Libby brought farmers' deliveries to a virtual halt August 26 until cops enforced a quickly issued injunction limiting pickets to two to a gate.

Thirty-four workers were jailed overnight for defying the injunction, including Baldemar Velasquez, president of FLOC. They were released on \$100 bond.

The strike was kicked off with an August 25 car caravan and rally at Bowling

Green, where Velasquez outlined the workers' demands. In addition to union recognition, they are pressing for a minimum wage of \$3.25 an hour.

They also want decent housing, medical coverage, and other benefits.

Union car caravans report a solid response as they fan out through the fields urging pickers to join the walkout.

FLOC now has the formal support of the United Farm

Workers union. A July 26 telegram from UFW president César Chávez to Velasquez declared:

"We are aware of your efforts to bring justice to migrant farm workers, and wholeheartedly support your struggle. We will continue to work closely with your organization and are prepared to use the resources of the UFW to assist you and your people. Please keep us informed. Viva la causa. Si se puede."



Striking farm workers picket tomato field

Militant



Militant/Brian Shannon

Chicago cops attack antiwar protesters, August 1968

## 'Informants' or provocateurs?

Chicago cops infiltrated protesting groups in an attempt to sabotage demonstrations at the 1968 Democratic Party convention, according to a report by former mayor Richard Daley's own investigator, made public recently. The report was written a week after the cops responded to the anti-Vietnam War protests with a riot of beatings and tear-gassing.

Don Rose, spokesperson for a group of organizations suing the city to stop illegal police spying and harassment, said the report raised the question of "who really started the riot, the demonstrators or the police spies?"

Among other things, the cops joined a New York City group and "continually sab-

otaged their plans for chartering buses, raising money, and giving life to the invasion of Chicago. . . . As a result, instead of 200 busloads of demonstrators coming to Chicago, they ended up with 8 carloads, totaling 60 people," the report boasted.

The cops used double agents to pass along false information to protest leaders, and sometimes even led demonstrations themselves.

"[We] stayed in almost daily contact with undercover agents throughout the country who were investigating, in one form or another, the hippie groups, the black nationalists groups, and other groups identified as antiestablishment," the report noted.

undercut our contract"; "A halt to the downhill slide of conditions and safety"; "an end to the looting of our pension funds"; and the right to vote on the contract.

Among the 110 participants in the conference were representatives from PROD (Professional Drivers Council) and FASH (Fraternal Order of Steel Haulers).

## BLUEBERRY PICKERS SEEK TO ORGANIZE

Nearly sixty blueberry-field workers were fired August 14 by the Jasper Wyman and Co. farms in Cherryfield, Maine, after they protested a 25 percent increase in the size of bushels they must fill to earn \$2.60. The company is owned by Republican State Rep. Hollis Wyman.

When protesters set up a picket line, local cops suddenly appeared and began telling workers they were "fired" and "to get off" company property. The migrant workers responded by leaving the fields in droves, bringing the blueberry harvest to a near standstill.

The workers have organized themselves into the Maine Blueberry Rakers Association. It seeks reinstatement of all fired workers, a fair wage for the new containers, and the right to picket.

## GOV'T BACKS OFF IN MINE DISASTER CASE

The U.S. Justice Department has decided to drop its quest to get a report on the 1976 Scotia mine disaster made public without coal company censorship. Federal Judge H. David Hermansdorfer first barred release of the report by the Mining Enforcement and Safety Administration during a trial last year. Widows of some of the twenty-six men killed in the 1976 explosion were suing Blue Diamond Coal Company, and Hermansdorfer said the MESA report was "biased" against the company.

The judge threw the widows' suit out of court but continued

to insist that the federal agency either make changes in the report or accompany it with a cover letter explaining it is "untrustworthy." The government has now dropped its appeal of that court order.

An article in the August 24 *Louisville Times* helps explain Hermansdorfer's persistence. Turns out the good judge—who regularly hears cases involving the coal industry—is himself in the coal business. In 1977 he got about \$2,000 for coal strip mined on his land.

So what, noted Bert Combs, former Kentucky governor and now Blue Diamond's chief attorney. "Most everybody who owns any appreciable amount of land down there also owns coal."

## HIT S. KOREA TYRANNY

One hundred South Koreans and their supporters picketed the White House August 26 to demand an end to U.S. aid to the Park Chung Hee dictatorship in South Korea and release of all South Korean political prisoners. The picket was sponsored by the U.S. Committee to Struggle for Human Rights in South Korea.

Speakers at a brief rally afterward included representatives of the committee, Socialist Workers Party, Sojourner Community, and others.

## PITTSBURGH MARKS 'BLACK MONDAY'

On August 28 about 300 people, nearly all Black, marched to mark 'Black Monday' in Pittsburgh. People were urged not to buy goods or ride buses. Demonstrators protested attacks on affirmative action, and the lack of jobs for Blacks. The march was initiated by leaders of the NAACP. Most Black community and religious organizations in the city joined in, as did Mark Zola, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor.

## UFW GETS FEDERAL GRANTS

The United Farm Workers union announced August 9 that the federal government had made grants totaling \$804,786 to the National Farm Workers Service Center, which is closely linked to the union. The money is earmarked for use in teaching farmworkers English and various skills the union said would enable the workers to qualify for higher-paying jobs.

The ultrareactionary American Farm Bureau—a longtime enemy of the UFW—attacked the grants. A bureau official called them a "serious violation of the public trust by the Carter administration."

## Labor backs gay rights

The California Federation of Labor, AFL-CIO, voted at its July convention to oppose Proposition 6, the anti-gay initiative put on California's November ballot by right-wing State Sen. John Briggs.

Proposition 6 would allow state school boards to fire any teacher or employee who is gay or who advocates gay rights.

Explaining labor's stake in the fight against Proposition 6, the Bay Area Committee Against the Briggs

Initiative declared, "John Briggs has one of the worst anti-labor records in the California legislature. His current inflammatory campaign against gay people and teachers is part of a broader scapegoating effort presently being waged against racial minorities and trade unions. It is part of an increasingly bold political offensive by reactionary forces against the democratic rights of all. It's time for union members to close ranks in solidarity with teachers."





### CARTER KEEPS BREEDER ALIVE

In order to win Senate votes for natural-gas price deregulation, President Carter promised to allot \$1.55 billion in research funds for the breeder reactor, despite campaign promises that he would oppose building them.

The breeder, which produces more nuclear fuel—plutonium—than it consumes, is a particularly dangerous kind of nuclear power plant. Plutonium is one of the most fiendishly toxic substances known. Since world uranium supplies will last no more than forty years, breeder reactors are essential if nuclear power becomes widespread.

Carter vetoed appropriations for the Clinch River, Tennessee, breeder project earlier this year. Meanwhile, several months ago, Energy Secretary James Schlesinger began dangling the bait of a breeder much larger than Clinch River.

### ONCE A THIEF. . .

Timothy Redfearn, the FBI informer serving a ten-year sentence for a 1976 burglary of Socialist Workers Party offices in Denver, was charged August 8 with mail fraud.

According to the indictment, Redfearn ordered books and other items from various publishers and charged them to Metropolitan State College in Denver. He falsely claimed he was employed there, and used phony job titles.

Redfearn faces another five years and \$1,000 fine on each of four counts.

**Law 'n order dept.**—A seven-year-old boy was tried and convicted in Winona, Minnesota, on charges of shoplifting a twenty-nine-cent squirt gun. Sentence is pending. Declared the judge: "We want to impress the child that this is not the way to go." Declared the J.C. Penney security cop who busted the boy: "Anybody over the age of five, I arrest them. I feel they should know better by then."

**Modern times**—A Baltimore Catholic church has modernized the ritual lighting of votive candles, with electric candles substituted for the traditional wax ones. To complete the modernization, the new candles are coin operated. Drop a dime in the slot and light up for Jesus. The pastor of the church said the new candles reduce fire hazards, eliminate smoke smudges on the ceiling, and that electricity is cheaper than wax.

spectors found thirty-four serious safety violations, and the stiffest safety fine in Maryland history was imposed on the giant corporation—\$27,000. The company tentatively agreed to pay.

**Something like cops?**—"Deep down, these people are not bad people. It's a shame they hate so much."—A Maryland policeman who infiltrated the Klan for two years.

**Loving care**—Washington, D.C.'s general hospital, which serves the poorest of the poor, may be somewhat wanting. Inspectors found its food area infested with roaches and mice; clean and soiled linen confused; and X-ray equipment incorrectly calibrated, leading to improper radiation doses.

**A mind-blower**—Manufacturers have been notorious for pushing their products onto children. Now, in a reverse tactic, they have a growing number of adults into bubble gum.

**Safety crackdown**—After a worker was killed in a wire-machine accident at Bethlehem Steel's Sparrow Point plant in Baltimore, state officials stepped in. In-

## Cleveland busing delayed



Militant/Jeff Powers

August 20 march against Cleveland school segregation, sponsored by Welcome, one of city's leading desegregation organizations.

Federal Judge Frank Battisti ruled August 25 that the Cleveland school board could delay the start of a busing plan for desegregation until February 1979. The plan was supposed to start this fall.

Last February, Battisti ordered 50,000 students bused this fall. Under the newest plan, 25,000 students will be bused next February, and another 25,000 the following September.

Judge Battisti said he was considering citing the board for contempt.

That should have been done some time ago.

It was two years ago that the judge found that the school board had deliberately segregated the schools.

And since then the board has worked overtime to stall and sabotage his order, demagogically pleading a lack of funds.

Responding to the new delay, NAACP attorney James Hardiman said he found it "inexcusable that two years after the finding of liability, we still see no desegregation whatsoever."

## Women in Revolt

Diane Wang



## Respectability?

Here's a suspicious headline: "Losing ERA Extension Might Help Feminists." It headed an article by Mary Russell, a congressional reporter for the *Washington Post*. Her article appeared shortly after the huge July 9 national march on Washington for the Equal Rights Amendment.

Russell thinks a defeat on extension would whip the women's movement into shape, force it to drop what she calls the "unwinnable battles," and be respectable.

"The movement needs to shift its emphasis from rhetoric—from marches and conferences and consciousness-raising—to expertise in gut-level politics," says Russell.

"When the movement was reborn in the 1960s, nothing seemed to stand in its way," Russell claims. "But then younger, more radical women came to prominence. . . . The reaction set in."

That's not how I remember it. From the beginning, the women's movement was slandered and opposed. But the marches and conferences and consciousness-raising won a hearing and drew in more and more women. That's how we began to win over the majority.

The government and right-wing did not suddenly begin recovering ground against us when "younger, more radical women" got involved—those are the women who led the second wave of feminism in the first place. The reaction made gains when the marches and conferences stopped happening. When women went respectably low profile.

And now? What will make women respectable, according to Russell? "Moving away from gay rights is one of those cold, difficult choices that must be made if women want to win their major battles," she advises. Solidarity with lesbian sisters is an "albatross" around the neck of the ERA campaign, she quotes one woman as saying.

But winning lesbian rights is one of the "major battles" women must win.

All women, not just lesbians, would suffer from the defeat of gay rights. Take Proposition 6, the infamous Briggs initiative that will be on California's November

ballot, as an example. If it passes, Proposition 6 will not only drive lesbians and gay men out of the school system. Anyone who even advocates gay rights could be fired.

And after that? Anyone who advocates women's rights? Black rights? Trade-union rights?

A defeat for gay rights would put momentum into the anti-ERA drive. Even if Russell doesn't get it, the women-haters do.

Once the women's movement starts avoiding "controversial" issues to be "respectable," it is on the road to defeat. After all, gay rights is not the only controversial demand. Abortion is too.

And sure enough, Russell proposes women pull back from the fight to control their own bodies, since it "runs into religious and moral beliefs in addition to being a woman's issue."

But then what else will become too controversial, an "unwinnable battle"? The ERA itself? The ERA is controversial. Women have had to fight for it for more than half a century! It is one of the most important controversies in this country today.

No, being respectable in our enemies' eyes means being respectful of their prejudices against women, putting their priorities first.

Women have won real respect by solidizing with others victimized in this society—with lesbians and gay men, with Blacks and other oppressed minorities, with the labor movement.

We won respect on July 9 when we displayed our power in the largest women's rights demonstration in history.

That's why we need to have even more conferences and marches to raise the consciousness of the entire country. We especially need another giant ERA march. And yes, these actions should have even bigger contingents of lesbians, even bigger contingents of all the people in society who have a stake in women's rights.

That's how we will make the ERA and all of women's other demands winnable battles.

## What's Going On

### CALIFORNIA LOS ANGELES

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Fred Halstead, SWP candidate for governor of California; Lucy Matthews, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U.S. Congress, 29th District, speaking on "The Humphrey-Hawkins Bill—No Answer to Unemployment." Sat., Sept. 9, dinner 6 p.m.; rally 7:30 p.m. 10818 Amery St. Southgate. Donation: \$6 (includes dinner, refreshments, rally). Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 869-7191 or 582-1975.

**SAN FRANCISCO**  
**CHILE: FIVE YEARS OF RESISTANCE AND INTERNATIONAL SOLIDARITY.** Speaker: Pedro Vuskovic. Wed., Sept. 13, 7 p.m. Mission Cultural Center, 2868 Mission St. Donation: \$2.

**SAN JOSE**  
**CHILE: FIVE YEARS AFTER THE COUP.** Speakers: representatives of Chilean Socialist Party, and Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 8, 8 p.m. 942 E. Santa Clara. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (408) 295-8342.

**INDIANA**  
**INDIANAPOLIS**  
**TEACHERS UNDER ATTACK.** Speakers: Jerome Ullman, participant in recent AFT convention; others. Sat., Sept. 9, 3 p.m. 4163 N. College. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (317) 925-2616.

### LOUISIANA NEW ORLEANS

**SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN RALLY.** Speakers: Joel Aber, Socialist Workers Party candidate for school board; Chris Gavreau, SWP candidate for Congress, 2nd District. Sat., Sept. 9, reception 7 p.m., rally 8 p.m. 3319 S. Carrollton. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (504) 486-8048.

### OREGON PORTLAND

**THE ECONOMIC CRISIS OF WORLD CAPITALISM.** Speaker: Vern Cope, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 8, 8 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**UNIONS UNDER SIEGE: HOW CAN LABOR FIGHT BACK?** Speaker: Dean Cohen, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., Sept. 15, 8 p.m. 711 NW Everett. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Bookstore Forum. For more information call (503) 222-7225.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.**  
**THE FIGHT AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND NUCLEAR WAR.** Speakers: Nancy Jacobs, Potomac Alliance; Jane Lerohl, Socialist Workers Party; Franklin Ramirez, Women Strike for Peace. Fri., Sept. 8, 7:30 p.m. All Souls Church, 16th & Harvard NW. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (202) 797-7699.

# Our Revolutionary Heritage

Celebrating 50 years of the Militant, 1928-1978

## Birmingham: FBI cover-up

During the 1960s the Black community of Birmingham, Alabama, was wracked by anti-Black violence. It was in the midst of a fight to desegregate the schools.

The Sixteenth Street Baptist church is remembered as the scene of one of the most horrible acts of racist violence. On September 15, 1963, a dynamite blast ripped the Black church apart, and left four Black girls dead.

For years the government "couldn't find a clue" as to who were the perpetrators of this attack. Now, fifteen years later, Ku Klux Klan terrorist Robert Chambliss has been sentenced to life imprisonment for his role in the brutal attack. And Gary Rowe, an FBI informer in the KKK, is also implicated.

Rowe has already testified that while on the FBI payroll he participated in murderous attacks on Blacks—he has confessed to one murder of a Black man—and that he informed the FBI of impending attacks by the KKK. The Rowe revelations underscore that the government was not on the side of Black rights in 1963, as it pretended, but rather on the side of the racists.

By 1963 there were more than fifty "unsolved" bombings of buildings in Birmingham's Black community alone. The *Militant* played an important role at the time in exposing government collusion in these bombings.

Even before the church bombing, the Birmingham Black community had demanded that the government intervene with federal troops to protect their communities and their children being bused to white schools. The Kennedy administration ignored this demand.

The *Militant* campaigned in support of sending federal troops to Birmingham. The September 16 issue, published just days before the horrifying attack on the church, warned: "Kennedy's 'forbearance' or expediency in not sending federal troops or marshals to Birmingham is a disservice to the Negro children who have been 'integrated' there. He is gambling with their lives when he leaves them without federal protection. . . . Their lives and limbs are being risked in the pre-election maneuvering. . . . The total effect of Kennedy's 'forbearance' policy is to embolden the KKK, White Citizens Councils and assorted racist groups and individuals."

When Blacks exploded in anger at the murder of the four girls, Kennedy's inaction gave Gov. George Wallace the go-ahead he needed. Five hundred all-white racist cops were free to attack Blacks with impunity. One hundred fifty sheriffs were deputized, 300 state "stormtroopers" were mobilized, and 500 national guardsmen were standing ready under the leadership of Wallace and his racist cohorts.

Only days later two more Black youths were murdered.



"Kennedy's playing of politics from the beginning of this month's school desegregation crisis in Alabama is largely responsible for the deaths of the six Negro children," the September 23 *Militant* declared. "Their blood is on his hands no less than on those of Governor Wallace."

There was speculation among Blacks about "whether the bombings were done by the racist cops or merely in collusion with them," the *Militant* reported. At a mass rally of 12,000 in New York City, called to condemn the Birmingham attack, Black writer James Baldwin charged: "The FBI has been unable to find a single bomber after fifty bombs in Birmingham alone. You know why? They can't afford to. If they did they would find their own. . . ."

These words ring true today. Until October 14, 1977, no one was ever arrested for the Birmingham bombing. The FBI withheld evidence to cover up this crime. Part of the evidence used to convict Chambliss, for example, was a fourteen-year-old FBI file on him. The extent of the government's knowledge and role in the Sixteenth Street church bombing is yet to be revealed.

Now the spotlight is on Gary Rowe. The July 17 *New York Times* reported that Rowe "was suspected of having been with Robert E. Chambliss, the 74-year-old Klansman convicted of murder," on the night of the 1963 bombing.

Was the FBI informed before the Sixteenth Street church bombing? Did their agent Rowe participate in it? Did they then cover up not only the Klan's role but also their agent's role in this murderous attack?

Every file on Gary Rowe's activities should be opened so that the real story can be told. When the truth is finally forced out—then the deaths of the four young Blacks will be vindicated.

—Priscilla Schenk

## Letters

### Support SWP suit

I'm writing this letter to you to proclaim my support for your cause in the case of the informer files and the attorney general.

As a socialist, a believer in Marxism-De Leonism, I do not support your party's reformist program, but I do support your right to freely disseminate your platform unhampered by the ruling class's secret police force.

As a socialist, I believe that to organize the working class both in the political as well as in the economic field is the duty of a party of labor. And to do so freely, unharassed by anyone, is a right guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution.

As a socialist, also, I believe workers should have the opportunity to review all the various ideologies espoused by the various parties trying to abolish capitalism and establish the Industrial Republic of Labor.

Mike Brandow  
Antigo, Wisconsin

### Caucus red-baited

Some of the union officialdom in a unit within United Auto Workers Local 600 at Detroit's Ford River Rouge Complex stamping plant have chosen to respond to criticism from a left-wing caucus, Time to Unite, with a particularly crude red-baiting attack. In a well-posted leaflet, the bureaucrats write, ". . . we find time (sic) to Unite is nothing more than a bunch of Communist (sic) trying to bullshit the Workers."

These bureaucrats would seem to have no knowledge of the important role that radicals played in the 1930s organizing drives and sit-down strikes that formed the UAW. In addition, they fail to see that red-baiting is a technique commonly used by the company to turn some segments of a union membership against others, damaging the solidarity of a union and thus weakening it.

Further, the stamping-plant officials' leaflet cites the case of a fired worker, John Ellis, who denied membership in Time to Unite at a hearing before an "impartial" umpire. Regardless of whether Ellis was a member of Time to Unite, the job of elected union officials, is to defend this worker who was unjustly fired, not to question his political affiliations. We elect them to defend us against the company, not to aid the company in attacking us.

While the Socialist Workers Party has many criticisms of the trade-union strategy of the Time to Unite caucus and its parent organization, the Revolutionary Communist Party, it is necessary to defend them against this assault from the stamping-plant union officials. Attacking workers on the basis of their political beliefs opens the door for the company to victimize other workers on the basis to their

political beliefs, their race, and their sex.

W.B.  
Detroit, Michigan

### Racist judge

As a newspaper that supports the struggles of undocumented workers, you might be interested in the support I found in a surprising place—the jury panel of a federal courtroom that processes cases concerning "illegal aliens."

I was notified that for a number of months I would be on a panel of prospective jurors for the federal court in Tucson, Arizona. I was told to appear June 28. About thirty of us appeared and were told that twelve of us would be selected for the trial that would last one day. The rest of us were to return the following day.

The case turned out to be a Spanish-speaking man accused of transporting eighteen "illegal aliens." In the process of jury selection, Judge James Walsh asked if anyone might be prejudiced concerning the case. I raised my hand and said I supported the right of undocumented workers to live, work, and be transported within the United States. Not yet fully awake, Judge Walsh asked me to step down as a prospective member of that particular jury.

When the judge later asked if anyone felt they could not convict the defendant, one by one, three Mexican-American men raised their hands. By that time the judge woke up to what was happening, and he was furious. He told them, "I'm going to dismiss you this time, but I'll have you know that you signed an oath and you are not going to be paid for coming here today." (Legally, everyone on the jury panel is paid, whether chosen or not.)

After the twelve were chosen, the judge said that everyone "should return the next day except Mrs. McDonald, Mr. Contreras" and the two others who had expressed their reservations about the case.

After we left the courtroom I spoke with the three men about the judge's racist actions and told them I would help fight against him docking their pay by making Judge Walsh's prejudiced remarks public. One of the men, William Contreras, wanted to fight it, so we called the press and were interviewed by the *Arizona Daily Star*, the *Tucson Citizen*, and KGUN-TV.

If the judge carries out his threat, we will continue our public campaign to expose his prejudice and to educate on the rights of undocumented workers.

Betsy McDonald  
Tucson, Arizona

### Supports deportations

The AFL-CIO has endorsed legislation to make it a crime for an employer to hire illegal

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## JOIN THE SWP



# Learning About Socialism

## Why we defend the Soviet Union

aliens and to prevent new illegal entrants.

Clearly, the reactionary bosses' union, headed by Eastland, needs the cheap labor. Labor protectionism, in a country of several million unemployed—including the border states—is the position of organized labor.

I find any other position untenable. Excuses of international solidarity are weak, since Mexicans, too, lose in the long run. While surplus population can escape to the U.S. for higher-paying jobs, Mexico will find excuses not to resolve its economic crises in terms of full employment.  
*James Stafford*  
*Ponchatoula, Louisiana*

### Comprehensive

Though I have received but two issues of the *Militant*, I can in all sincerity state that this publication is by far the most comprehensive in coverage and correct in editorial policy of the several "radical" publications sent to me. I am sick and tired of the incessant squabbles that the *Guardian* and the *Call* seem to find so much a part of their organization.

Too, the 290,000 men, women, and children imprisoned in this oppressive nation's prisons need the clear insight and direct, to-the-point style of reporting that does not leave them as forgotten members of the American proletariat.

While I have not seen a great deal of space devoted to the ongoing struggle we are waging inside the brutal prisons of this nation, I would like to think that this is more due to a lack of factual, well-written articles than to an editorial policy that shuns such participation in the overall struggle.

I shall certainly look forward to the arrival of your outstanding publication in the future.

*A prisoner*  
*Virginia*

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

### Correction

The article "1,000 march against segregation," which appeared in the September 1 *Militant's* coverage of the Cleveland busing struggle, failed to mention the sponsor of the August 20 march for equal education. The march was called by WELCOME (West-siders and East-siders, Let's Come Together) a local coalition.

Some socialists have difficulty with the Socialist Workers Party's political stand in relation to the Soviet Union, or the other bureaucratically misruled workers states towards which the SWP holds the same view—China, Vietnam, North Korea, and the postcapitalist countries of Eastern Europe.

On the one hand, the SWP opposes the bureaucratic regimes in these countries and favors an antibureaucratic revolution to win real democracy.

At the same time, we unconditionally defend these countries against imperialism. We supported the Soviet Union in its struggle for survival against Nazi Germany during World War II.

Defense of North Vietnam against Washington's air assault was a factor in our opposition to imperialism's war against the Indochinese peoples.

But, it's asked, how can you defend the Soviet Union without giving up on opposition to its Stalinist rulers? And, is there anything really worth defending in these states?

These are valid questions, particularly when you consider some of the crimes committed by the Kremlin rulers in the name of socialism—abominations such as the recent frame-up trial of Soviet dissident Anatoly Shcharansky. And that's not to speak of the suppression of the whole Soviet people by a bureaucracy determined to preserve vast material privileges it has accumulated.

The situation is much the same in China, which is as lacking in internal democracy as the USSR. Consider the bureaucratic ouster of the vilified "gang of four." This abrupt switch in the central leadership of the Chinese government was accomplished without the slightest input by the Chinese people.

With such totalitarian rule, what is there for socialists to defend?

Not to change the subject, let's discuss an analogous question.

Considering the enormous crimes of the trade-union bureaucracy in this country, how can you favor "unconditional defense" of the unions against the bosses?

For thinking unionists, the answer isn't difficult. Long experience has proven that the worst union is better than none.

No class-conscious unionist would argue that defending the unions against the capitalists means defending the bureaucrats who live off the unions. Generally speaking, it's the best fighters against the bosses who see most clearly the need to get rid of the bureaucrats.

For such unionists, the fight to oust the bureaucrats is a key part of the fight against the bosses. But they keep their

priorities straight. They know the fight against the bosses comes first.

Our attitude toward the unions in this regard is much the same as our attitude toward the Soviet Union or China or Vietnam.

What is there to defend in these states?

A great deal.

The Russian revolution of 1917 established a workers democracy. For the several years that it was able to survive, it was the highest form of democracy the world has yet seen.

But in conditions of terrible adversity, a privilege-seeking bureaucracy developed that succeeded in wiping out that democracy.

Yet other conquests endure, and have also been instituted by the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions. Primarily, these are the property relations established by the revolution.

The capitalists' power over the economy was abolished, industry was nationalized, and production was planned for use instead of being anarchistically determined by profit.

Today, the Soviet people—still living in a hostile world capitalist environment and still saddled with a greedy bureaucracy—continue to do without many material things. But their standard of living is vastly better than before the revolution.

A similar case can be made for China. Before its revolution it was—like India, for instance—engulfed by seemingly insoluble social problems. But while India remains a cesspool of capitalist misery, postcapitalist China has made substantial strides forward despite the often ruinous policies of Mao and his successors.

A striking thing about the planned economies of these countries is their superior ability to provide jobs for all who need them. Contrast that to capitalist countries such as the United States, where unemployment is endemic.

We think these economic conquests are worth fighting for, even though distorted by bureaucratic rule.

This doesn't make it less important to get rid of the bureaucrats. But the Soviet and Chinese working people have to do this job themselves—with support from the world working class. Leaving it to the likes of "human rights" Carter is like leaving it to the U.S. Steel Corporation to get rid of the bureaucrats in the United Steelworkers.

These, briefly, are some of the reasons why we defend the postcapitalist states. For a fuller, much better explanation, try some of the writings of Leon Trotsky, including *In Defense of Marxism* and *The Revolution Betrayed*. Available from Pathfinder Press, 410 West Street, New York, New York 10014, or at addresses listed below. —Harry Ring

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**TEXAS:** Austin: YSA, c/o Mike Rose, 7409 Berkman Dr. Zip: 78752. Dallas: SWP, YSA, 2215 Cedar Crest. Zip: 75203. Tel: (214) 943-6684. Houston: City-wide SWP, YSA, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9960. North Houston: SWP, 6412-C N. Main St. Zip: 77009. Tel: (713) 861-9842. Houston, South-Central: SWP, 4987 Martin Luther King Blvd. Zip: 77023. Tel: (713) 643-0005. San Antonio: SWP, YSA, 112 Fredericksburg Rd. Zip: 78201. Tel: (512) 735-3141.

**UTAH:** Logan: YSA, P.O. Box 1233, Utah State University. Zip: 84322. Salt Lake City: SWP, YSA, 677 S. 7th East, 2nd Floor. P.O. Box 461. Zip: 84110. Tel: (801) 355-1124.

**WASHINGTON, D.C.:** SWP, YSA, 3106 Mt. Pleasant St. NW. Zip: 20010. Tel: (202) 797-7699.

**WASHINGTON:** Seattle: SWP, YSA, 2200 E. Union. Zip: 98122. Tel: (206) 329-7404. Spokane: SWP, P.O. Box 672. Zip: 99210. Tel: (509) 535-6244. Tacoma: SWP, 1022 S. J St. Zip: 98405. Tel: (206) 627-0432.

**WEST VIRGINIA:** Morgantown: SWP, P.O. Box 1484. Zip: 26505.

**WISCONSIN:** Madison: YSA, P.O. Box 1442. Zip: 53701. Tel: (608) 255-4733. Milwaukee: SWP, YSA, 3901 N. 27th St. Zip: 53216. Tel: (414) 445-2076.

## Abortion rights victory

By Cris Mann

BOWLING GREEN, Ky.—Women won a victory for abortion rights here on August 30 when a jury found Marla Pitchford not guilty of charges that she aborted herself with a knitting needle.

Pitchford, a twenty-two-year-old college student, had been unable to obtain an abortion at a clinic anywhere in Kentucky.

Immediately after she had a miscarriage, Pitchford had been taken to the Bowling Green Warren County Hospital. There a Dr. Slazack, an anti-abortionist, treated her and then called police.

A grand jury indicted Pitchford for first-degree

### More on women's rights inside:

- *The Equal Rights Amendment and the National Organization for Women's October national conference;*
- *Reports on August 26 actions for the ERA, page 4.*

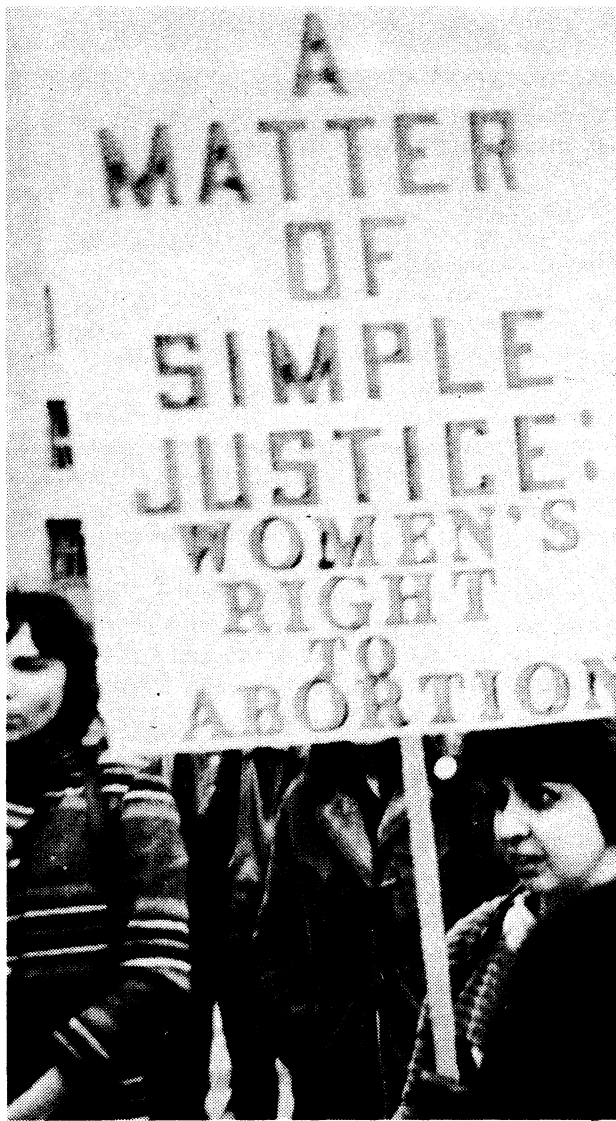
manslaughter and for performing an abortion without a license.

The manslaughter charge was dismissed on the grounds that a fetus is not legally a person.

The illegal abortion charge was based on a relatively new Kentucky law that prohibits anyone but a licensed physician from performing an abortion. Pitchford, the first person to be prosecuted under this law, faced ten to twenty years in prison if convicted.

At a press conference after the trial Pitchford said, "I don't think any other woman should have to go through this ordeal."

Flora Stewart, one of Pitchford's attorneys, said that she thought the decision in this case would discourage the state from attempting to prosecute other young women for abortion.



Roy Inglee

"Marla made the decision to undertake the trial," Stewart said, "for herself, the rights of women, and humanity everywhere."

During the trial Pitchford's former companion Dwight Mundy testified against her. Mundy turned state's evidence under threat of being indicted also.

Pitchford won support from around the country. Some women came from as far away as Atlanta to observe the trial. On the last day, the courtroom was crowded with local and national news reporters and women's rights supporters, about 150 people altogether.

When the trial began on August 28 twenty-six of the forty prospective jurors called had to be dismissed because they personally opposed all abortions. But the jury that heard the evidence took less than an hour to come to a decision. The verdict was not guilty by reason of insanity.

"The real insanity is the law that restricts abortions and drives women to attempts that could injure or kill them," said Jim Burfeind. Burfeind, the Socialist Workers Party candidate for Congress from the Third District in Louisville, attended the opening of the trial to solidarize with Pitchford.

"In this state women are put under double jeopardy. The law, pushed through by a Democratic Party-controlled legislature, made it illegal for Pitchford to get an abortion with a doctor. Then the state prosecuted her for having an abortion without one!"

"At stake in this trial was Marla Pitchford's life and the lives of unknown thousands like her. The state tried to turn her into a criminal just because she desperately sought her right to choose."

"We have won a victory today," Burfeind concluded. "But more attacks like this will happen. Everyone who supports women's equality should be ready to defend abortion rights."

## Unions hit 'right to work' fraud

By Tim Kaminsky

ST. LOUIS—Missouri employers are celebrating their recent victory in obtaining ballot status for a union-busting "right to work" referendum.

The proposed state constitutional amendment would destroy the union shop. Union security clauses requiring workers to join the union or pay union dues would be illegal.

In addition, all labor contracts in the state would automatically be null and void the moment the amendment went into effect.

The Missouri labor movement is responding to this threat through a United Labor Committee. All the state's major labor organizations are participating, including the AFL-CIO, United Auto Workers, United Steelworkers, United Mine Workers, and Teamsters.

In Kansas City on September 4 and in St. Louis on September 9, Labor Day parades and rallies will counter the so-

called right-to-work campaign.

Missouri is one of five states targeted by the National Right to Work Committee. The others are Idaho, New Mexico, Colorado, and New Hampshire. But the opening round is here: What big business can get away with in Missouri will set the pace, not only for the other four targeted states, but for working people across the nation.

This battle will unquestionably be one of the big election issues here this year—one in which candidates for public office will be forced to take sides.

Two candidates who have needed no pushing to take a public stand against the reactionary ballot measure are Mary Pritchard and Jim Levitt. Both are running for Congress on the Socialist Workers Party ticket—Pritchard from the First District in St. Louis and Levitt from the Fifth District in Kansas City.

In a recent interview with the *Mili-*

*tant*, both candidates explained how seriously they view this "right to work" (RTW) drive.

"To begin with, the term 'right to work' is a gross misnomer," said Prit-

chard. "It's calculated to mislead people into believing that somehow such a measure would benefit working people, that it would provide jobs."

"In reality, as the labor movement's slogan here explains, the so-called right to work is only a right to rip off workers. It would weaken the unions and lead to declining wages and benefits."

"All you have to do is look at the wages in those twenty states that already have 'right to work' laws to see that such legislation is no boon for the unemployed or employed."

The average hourly wages in 1976 for production workers in RTW states was seventy-four cents less than in non-RTW states. RTW states have higher percentages of families living in poverty. They have lower unemployment compensation. And corporate income taxes make up a smaller part of total state taxes.

*Continued on page 21*

### Labor rallies

#### KANSAS CITY

Monday, September 4

10 a.m.: Assemble and march at Liberty Memorial, Pershing and Grand.

Noon: Rally at Liberty Memorial.

#### ST. LOUIS

Saturday, September 9

9:30 a.m.: Assemble at Fourteenth Street and Washington.

11 a.m.: March.



Bumper sticker distributed by Missouri state labor council